

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the  
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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VOL. XXXI (No. 10)

OCTOBER, 1917

NO. 737

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# THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

*Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50*

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

"It is the best work I have read on Buddhism. This opinion is endorsed by all who read it here. I propose to make it a text-book of study for my girls."

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ILLINOIS





THE VIRGIN MARY BY HUBERT VAN EYCK.  
From the altarpiece of Ghent.

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## THE DUTCH REPUBLIC.

BY ALBERT OOSTERHEERDT.

THE peace of Münster in 1648, which concluded the Thirty Years' War in Germany, also brought an end to the eighty years of war between the Dutch republic and Spain. By it the independence of the seven provinces, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Friesland and Groningen, long an established fact, was acknowledged by Spain, which had by this time sunk to the level of a second-rank power, while the formerly insignificant provinces had become the strongest maritime power in the world and the pivotal state in European politics. Its commerce was world-wide, and it was the carrier of Europe; its possessions were found in all continents, and its flag floated on every ocean; it was the seat of industry, the center of learning, the mart of finance, and the home of art and science. It produced a galaxy of names still famous, as Huyghens, De Groot, Vondel, Rubens, Rembrandt, John De Witt, Tromp, De Ruyter, and many others of lesser fame. Spinoza was born in Holland, Descartes found an asylum there, as did later many Huguenots and other refugees. The Netherlands were the United States of Europe, and had proportionately as many immigrants, furnishing a haven for the oppressed of all other countries.

During the brilliant administration of John De Witt the nation was often at war but gained in power and prestige. Two wars were fought with England for trade reasons. France under Louis XIV was checkmated, and Sweden defeated in a naval battle in defense of Denmark. A medal was struck with the following inscription: "The laws made secure, religion reformed, kings assisted, protected and conciliated, the peace of the seas maintained, a splendid peace arrived at by force of arms, and the security of the Euro-

pean world established." This was in 1668, but in 1672 a different story was related. In this year a coalition of France, Great Britain and some German states made an attack on Holland which all but succeeded, as all the land provinces but one were conquered by the enemy. In this emergency, in which Amsterdam itself was threatened, John De Witt, the masterful opponent of the house of Orange, was deposed, and William III, the young prince, restored to his hereditary rights as stadtholder and commander-in-chief.

The prince displayed an extraordinary energy. An alliance was made with Austria and Brandenburg, the French were threatened in their lines of communication, Groningen was defended against the bishop of Münster, and the safety of Holland secured by an inundation. The navy fought a number of brilliant engagements against superior fleets, till finally Great Britain deserted France, with Münster and Cologne likewise coming to terms. The Dutch republic now became the center of a powerful alliance against France, but this was not sufficiently cohesive to be fully effective. Under the changed circumstances, however, France was put on the defensive, and was obliged to forego part of her ambitious designs, but by reason of her strong army and efficient organization was still a very formidable enemy. The republic, accordingly, unequally assisted by its allies, and moved by the strong party of the aristocratic regents, the hereditary opponents of the princes of Orange, made a separate peace with France, in which it itself lost nothing, but which was nevertheless indicative of the changed positions of the powers of Europe, as France from now on (1678) had become a most disturbing factor of the peace and balance of power of the continent. A period of unrest followed, in which the French sought to round out their kingdom by extending its borders, and in which the crafty Louis XIV tried to get internal unity as well by revoking the concessions and privileges of the French Protestants. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 was followed by a general exodus of the French Huguenots to Holland and Germany, England receiving but few refugees on account of itself being in danger of a second Romanization at the hands of James II.

The danger to Europe from this impending Romanization under French supremacy was especially patent to Protestant England and Holland, thus far the chief strongholds of Protestantism. As William of Orange was the son of an English mother and was married to Mary, the daughter of James, all eyes were fixed on him to prevent the coming Catholic recrudescence. The English revolution of 1688 was the answer of endangered Protestantism to the



Catholic menace, and placed William on the English throne, thereby uniting England and Holland in a common cause. From now on until the fall of the Dutch republic the interests of these two countries were merged for purposes of common defense and mutual objects, and as long as the policy of William III was followed the United Netherlands flourished, their decline being contemporaneous with a reversal of that policy.

The second French war, from 1689 to 1697, which followed the accession of the Prince of Orange to the English throne, was costly and exhausting to the Dutch provinces, as it was to England also. The Grand Alliance, in which nearly every European power was embraced, was unwieldy and heterogeneous in composition, and hardly a match for the compact and efficient power of France, which excelled on land, although not equal to the naval strength of the Dutch and the English. At the conclusion of peace, however, the Protestant powers of Europe had mastered the situation: they had the supremacy of the seas, and the greatest part in the control of European politics. Once more, nevertheless, France threatened the world with her dominion when the Spanish succession was about to pass under the Bourbons, thereby securing a united France and Spain with their vast possessions.

The renewed dangers brought about the so-called war of the Spanish Succession, in which the initiative was taken by the Dutch. They were in especial danger now that the Spanish Netherlands were garrisoned by French troops, which destroyed the security of the republic. The gigantic struggle which ensued was carried on in all continents and on all seas just like the present world conflict. The energy and determination which were shown by the Dutch republic in the early stages of the war were not kept up, however, being too exhausting for the resources of the small state. England, now fully committed to the policies of William III, took the principal role in the war and gained the most substantial benefits, thereby arousing old animosities. The French were finally, although not decisively, beaten, the republic becoming the guardian, if not the possessor, of the Southern Netherlands. This province now passed from Spanish to Austrian control, thus constituting the famous *barrière* which it was thought would both confirm the security of the republic and at the same time rid it of a possible commercial rivalry. England obtained Gibraltar and Minorca, Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland besides trading monopolies, thus strengthening her commercial power and her hold upon the seas, meanwhile assuming the part formerly played by the Dutch

in the affairs of the European continent. France, although exhausted, had politically gained her ends: Spain and her colonies were won for the Bourbons, but with the provision that the two crowns should not be united. Thus ended the great war of the Spanish Succession, which was to be the last in which the Dutch republic took a prominent and decisive part. Indeed, it was the beginning of the end.

The French envoy Polignac rightly interpreted the peace of Utrecht in 1713. "On traitera de la paix chez vous, pour vous et sans vous," he said with regard to the Dutch republic, which now was compelled to accept what England and France prescribed for it. As Professor Blok says in his *History of the People of the Netherlands*: "With a neglected navy, an army weakened by the campaigns and losses of the last years, an almost exhausted treasury, the republic for many years would have to give up its importance as a great power; its commerce had suffered seriously and would hereafter, in the world's markets under less favorable circumstances, have to meet its powerfully developing rival on the other side of the North Sea. In the opinion of its best statesmen its only hope for the future lay in a close alliance with this fortunate competitor and in following the chariot of victory."

The United Netherlands, however, were still rich and powerful, and were now to profit by a long and protracted peace. The incessant wars gave place to a long-needed peace. While external conditions of trade and foreign affairs were in many respects changed, it was nevertheless the internal condition of the republic which caused its gradual decay and final overthrow. Its weak constitution was that neither of a republic nor of a monarchy, but of a loose alliance in which one province, Holland, and in that province one city, Amsterdam, had a preponderating influence, deciding often for selfish purposes the foreign policy of the commonwealth. It was furthermore divided by the opposition between the land and the sea provinces, the former wanting a strong army and the latter a powerful navy, with the result that the country usually got neither. The internal dissension was often of such a character that the States General were powerless, the provinces furnishing neither their quota of troops nor their required number of ships, failing besides to provide adequately for the general expenses of the government, weak and inefficient as it was by its very nature. In this century the city regents gained complete ascendancy, making each city an independent unit, a local autonomy with a strong aversion to a higher or more central authority, whether of the states or of the

stadtholder. The stadtholdership, again hereditary in the house of Orange, lost prestige and power, partly because the eighteenth-century representatives of that house were weak and vacillating men, lacking the vigor and decision of their illustrious forebears. Thus the once puissant Dutch republic drifted slowly but inevitably to its certain destruction, and became the prey of political strife, internal disorganization, foreign weakness and excessive love of peace.

While the school of William III was still living, there was a lively appreciation of his policies and aims. Heinsius and Van Slingelandt were exceedingly able diplomats, fit to cope with the complex problems of European politics, patriotic and high-minded men. But they were overwhelmed in a flood of narrowness and pettiness by the peace-at-any-price party, which looked at every question from a purely commercial standpoint. Trade and commerce were paramount to national interests—one of the reasons for the fall of the Dutch republic. The much-desired barrier against French aggression proved a delusion and a snare; it neither protected Holland nor barred France, as subsequent events were to show. Austria, now owner of the southern Netherlands, was embittered by the treatment from the states, while France was encouraged by the patrician oligarchy which habitually was friendly to France, as the party of the stadtholder depended on English favor.

The first few years after the war of the Spanish Succession found the Dutch republic in a deplorable condition. The alliance with England, endangered by the death of Queen Anne, was confirmed at the accession of George I, the Elector of Hanover. France under its regent was bent on securing Dutch friendship, so that affairs with these two powers were quite satisfactory. Elsewhere, however, the republic suffered loss of prestige by not protecting its commerce in the Baltic and the Mediterranean seas, particularly by submitting supinely to the depredations of the pirates of Algiers and Tunis. At home, there was an attempt to reform the government of the union, but although nearly a year was spent in discussion, nothing really came from it. The second great assembly to save the state failed, as did the first in 1651, and left its future again to depend on "a wonderful work of divine providence," as the council of state declared.

Under these conditions the foreign policy of the republic rapidly deteriorated. Self-interest alone determined its action. Thus when Austria permitted the organization of the Ostend Company

in 1722 the Dutch and English governments protested vehemently, the Dutch denying the freedom of the seas, one of the principles laid down a century before by Hugo de Groot in his great book on the laws of nations. The economic prosperity or prostration of the Austrian Netherlands was nothing to the Dutch, who no longer had a complete trade monopoly, being forced to share their former commerce with many other rivals, among whom were Denmark, Hamburg and Bremen, to say nothing of England and France, their chief competitors. Austria, desirous of conciliating the maritime powers, suspended the Flemish rival and placed Belgium again under the economic yoke of the Dutch provinces. This concession did not, however, avail to extend the aid of Holland to Austria in the Polish succession dispute, nor in the Austrian succession war till it was nearly too late, and then only in a half-hearted manner.

The great war of the Pragmatic Sanction, in which Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa were the heroic figures, proved the rise of Prussia, the disintegration of the Hapsburg empire, and the fatal disinclination of the Dutch republic to observe faithfully its treaties and obligations. The republic, several times assisted by Austria in its own dire perils, sought to compromise with honor when the empire was in danger, and endeavored to remain neutral in spite of its treaty requirements. When aid was finally rendered in 1743, it was done grudgingly and against the will of the regents. The Dutch name of military and naval glory suffered grievously in this war, for the help given was insignificant, and the manner of its handling egregiously ignominious. The navy was small and poorly equipped, fighting no important battle, and the army, whose special task it was to defend the southern Netherlands, was beaten back in disgrace, so that Belgium fell into French hands, the barrier forts proving no obstacle to the victorious legions of France. If proof had been needed that the ring of barrier fortresses was not invincible, the Dutch received it in 1743 and 1744, and they received still further confirmation of their vulnerability in 1747, when the French, in order to hasten peace, invaded Zeeland and Brabant, and laid siege to Maastricht. So desperate had the condition of the Dutch republic become that it was compelled to petition England, its other ally, to conclude peace, declaring that "since its existence it had never been more exposed to being invaded or overwhelmed." England was bitterly disappointed by this "shameful document," but could not carry on the war singlehanded, so that peace negotiations were soon under way. The representatives of the states naturally received but scant consideration from England

and France, and were forced to accept whatever terms these two powers agreed upon, an equal footing being from now on out of the question. In short, the republic was, as Blok says, "a miserable spectacle to its friends, an object of ridicule to its foes."

Thus the fatal internal weakness of the Dutch republic had brought about the shameful peace of 1748, which concluded the war of the Austrian Succession and revealed to friends and foes its true and nearly hopeless condition. One remedy remained as of old, the restoration of the prince of Orange to the headship of the state, but even this panacea, when applied in 1747 and 1748, had lost much of its old-time efficacy. Since 1702, when William III died, there had been a "stadtholderless interregnum," and now, when the republic had gone from bad to worse, there was a loud demand from the common people, who had always believed in Orange, to have the young prince William IV elevated to his ancestors' former position. This was indeed done, but more essential changes were not made. More authority was concentrated in the prince, but otherwise the old aristocratic system, limiting government to a number of ruling families, survived in a slightly modified form, denying to the people a truly representative system such as alone might have withstood the violence as well as the doctrines of the French Revolution.

For the moment, however, there was great relief and rejoicing, especially when an heir was born to the prince, thus providing for the continuity of the rule of Orange. The new stadtholder was more powerful than any of his predecessors, and his supreme authority was recognized. "From him were now expected a better general guidance, a greater development of the state's resources, reform of army and navy, revival of the former prosperity, a regeneration of the entire nation—a hard task for the prince placed at the head of a republic. Supported as he was by the citizens, it lay in his hand to improve the machine of state by augmenting the influence of the citizens upon the government, as the great prince, William I, had indicated, but he did not desire this. He wished to maintain the old 'aristocratical' form of government, redressing the most crying abuses, removing the most hated regents and replacing them, and balancing the still threatening oligarchy by increasing the powers of the 'eminent head' of the republic. This balance the prince could alone secure by a pernicious system of secret correspondence with the foremost regents, by intrigues and favors that raised the lowest passions to means of government. The republic could not be permanently preserved in this way."

The final fall of the republic was accordingly only a matter of fate and time. England's friendship and Prussia's aid might indeed delay the crisis, but could not avert it, as subsequent events were to prove. Nevertheless, the elevation of William IV brought a betterment in the general condition of the country. Trade and commerce revived, finance was made sound and prosperous, and a general prosperity followed which rivaled that of former days, notwithstanding the fact that the colonies had decreased, the trade of the great East India Comany being especially in a state of decay. A period of thirty years of unbroken peace followed, somewhat similar to the period in American history after the Civil War. In both periods there was a general prosperity, much national disintegration of life, manners and thought, an incurable optimism based on shallow philosophies, a decline of religion and dogma, a refusal to learn from history, and a pacific tendency which reduced the military and naval efficiency of the nation. Besides the greater concentration of authority in the prince's hands, the removal of some regents, there was an improvement in internal finances by the abolishment of the system of farming, which had led to such grave abuses and scandals. The postal system was also improved, but beyond this the reforms made did not alter the constitution of the state so much as its personnel. The prince himself was an amiable, weak man, not capable of reforming a state in which privilege and aristocratic pretension were so strongly entrenched as in the so-called United Netherlands, united in name only. His early death in 1751 left the country in charge of his wife, the Governess Anne, an English princess who found the task also greatly exceeding her natural capacity. Part of her labors were taken over by the Duke of Brunswick, a German general in the employ of the States General. Thus two foreigners were placed at the head of the Dutch republic at the most critical period of its history, naturally exciting patriotic opposition and personal antipathies on the part of many Dutchmen.

A reduction was made in the appropriations by reducing the size of the army which had played such an inglorious part in the late war; the state of the navy may be guessed from the fact that peace with the pirate states of Morocco and Algiers was bought, not compelled, while diplomacy fared no better in securing a new commercial treaty from France, nor in fruitless negotiations with Austria regarding the disposition to be made of the southern Netherlands. Austria, in fact, was not enamored of its possessions, nor of restoring the barrier fortresses to protect Holland from France, especially not when in 1756 a Franco-Austrian alliance was made, which

totally changed the status of the Austrian Netherlands, changing them from a buffer state into a French outpost. The former alliance of Austria with the naval powers of the North Sea naturally was immediately broken, but instead of uniting the Dutch republic more closely with Great Britain, this made the aristocracy all the more determined to be on good footing with France, long the common enemy of England and the house of Orange.

The republic soon found itself in a difficult position. England and France were again at war, this time for the supremacy of the seas and colonial expansion. In America France's colonies and military ambitions lay directly athwart the path of English colonial domination, while in India too the French were continually in conflict with English commerce and power. England could not tolerate a chain of French forts from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi, blocking further expansion of its own colonies on the Atlantic seaboard, nor could it view with equanimity the growing naval strength of France, heretofore surpassed only by its own mighty sea power. The Netherlands, now that Austria was no longer an ally of them and England, had everything to fear from such a war. By treaty the Dutch were bound to assist the English, yet their own powerlessness and precarious position made them wish to retain French friendship also. Hence they endeavored to maintain a complete neutrality, a position then as now impossible to hold. An English demand that the treaty be complied with was refused at the behest of France, this naturally causing British pride to be offended. While France showered favors on the faithless Dutch, England showed its resentment by capturing Dutch merchant ships. Violent disputes arose in the republic about the necessity of providing convoy to the threatened commerce, but the decrepit state of the navy and the bankrupt condition of the admiralty prevented adequate protection from being furnished. Moreover the regent Anne, being an English princess, would not hear of an increase in the navy without the army being likewise increased, but this idea, while essentially correct, was violently opposed by the mercantile cities and the partisans of the French. At the Hague, it was said, there were many English or French partisans, but "no Hollanders." The princess and her party were blamed for their English sympathies, and the party of the "States" for its French partisanship.

Meanwhile Dutch trade was seriously hampered by the war. France was furnished with war supplies, but it could not in return insure the safety of Dutch shipping. All efforts to increase the navy were met by the insistent demand of the land provinces that

the land forces be increased too, so that a general deadlock followed after most vehement discussions. The navy counted in 1757 less than thirty ships, and the army had dropped to thirty-three thousand men—a sad commentary on the fall from the glory of other days when the Dutch republic had hundreds of battleships and fully half a million of men under arms. Finally after much wrangling some additional ships were built and they performed noteworthy services but could not avail to restore the old prestige or revive the former prosperity of trade. When the war between France and England came to an end in 1763, the Dutch republic had no part whatever in the peace conferences, and found itself ignored by its powerful ally, which from now on had not only the undisputed dominion of the seas, but was also in possession of French Canada, the Mississippi Valley, the Antilles and French Hindustan, being now by all odds the greatest naval and colonial power in the world.

It would seem, therefore, that Holland, conscious of English superiority, could not afford to affront the old rival, but would assiduously cultivate British friendship, especially now that France had been decisively humbled. Such, indeed, was the policy of the duke of Brunswick and the council pensionary Steyn, who after the death of Princess Anne in 1759 had become entrusted with foreign affairs, as well as with the guardianship of the young prince William V. The duke acquired a vast power in the republic, his opponents being gradually removed from influence and Orange partisans put in their place. By a judicious diplomacy the duke even received the good-will of the "States" party, so that at the assumption of government by the prince of Orange in 1766 there were many testimonials of gratitude from the States General and the Provincial Estates for his fatherly care of the country and the prince. The prince married a Prussian princess, a woman with much more determination and courage than he was to show in the last and most critical days of the old Dutch republic.

The period now ensuing was indeed a turbulent one, not only in the Netherlands, but also in foreign countries. It was the time of the first partition of Poland, of plans to exchange the ownership of Belgium, of the American revolution, and last but not least, of the political and social philosophy of the French revolution, with its tremendous and dramatic effects. That the Dutch republic should have survived the gathering storm was extremely unlikely, nor in fact desirable. Its anachronistic constitution and internal condition were such that they deserved no better fate than that which overtook them—a warning to other countries and



times. England too was ruled by a small aristocracy, but English traditions of liberty and flexibility safely weathered the storm of the great revolution, while the Dutch republic was moribund and inert and collapsed when the visible signs of government were removed. The growth of democratic ideas in America and France found a ready response in the Netherlands, but the history and organization of the republic were not favorable to a liberal reconstruction of its form under the new conditions.

During the administration of William V the old antipathy against England was revived in an intensified form. The revolt of the American colonies against British rule found strong sympathy in Holland, partly on account of democratic tendencies, and partly because of commercial reasons, which were very potent, since the colonies depended during the war on their West-Indian smuggling trade, carried on largely in Dutch bottoms. Hence the willingness of Dutch merchants and especially of the city of Amsterdam to make loans to the struggling colonies, and the readiness to aid America at the expense and to the detriment of England. That country, already at war with France and the American colonies, naturally desired to retain the friendship of the Dutch. As before in the Seven Years' War, however, the influence of France was strong enough in the republic to cause English displeasure, and finally a break in the old relations, resulting in the fourth English war. A request for the return of the Scottish brigade, which had been stationed in the Netherlands since the days of William of Orange, was refused by the States General on the grounds that the brigade was needed in their own defense. Another English grievance was the contraband trade of the Dutch, especially the furnishing of war supplies to France, principally by Haarlem and Amsterdam. While England maintained a conciliatory attitude, France was bound to force the hands of the Dutch, threatening to injure Dutch commerce unless a naval convoy was granted to the illicit trade forbidden by the English. Thus matters stood with France cajoling this way and England insisting upon that way, till finally proud Albion, although beset by foreign enemies and harassed by domestic revolutions, abrogated the ancient treaties in 1780, following this the next year—after the republic had entered the armed neutrality league and through its chief city, Amsterdam, made an understanding with the American colonies—by a declaration of war upon its old rival and ally.

The Dutch on their side entered the war with incredible optimism and a fatal lack of preparedness. The proud language of

the French partisans, which swore vengeance upon perfidious Albion for having dared to hold up Dutch commerce, was in sharp contrast to the defenseless situation of the country and its colonies. The coasts were nearly bare to an English invasion, and the minor colonies fell into the enemy's hands almost without a struggle. Dutch commerce was driven off the seas, the French giving no aid to their new ally; a meeting between an English squadron and a Dutch fleet at Doggersbank proving nothing except that Dutch courage was still in spite of British sneers a fine quality of the navy. Luckily for the decrepit republic, England was busily employed elsewhere and had no heart in this war, so that peace offers were constantly made and as constantly refused by the French party, which still hoped to humiliate England with French help. While France was thus encouraging Holland to persist in a foolish war, she herself secretly concluded preliminaries of peace with Great Britain, thus isolating the republic. This was the reward which a fateful friendship for France received, but it did not deter the French party, now called the patriot party, from preventing a renewal of the old alliance with Great Britain. The stadtholder, helpless as he was, received most of the blame for the disastrous war and inglorious peace, while the "patriots" now openly demanded a reconstruction of the state after French political ideas and American example. As Blok says in his history: "No treaty of peace was more humiliating than that of Paris, none showed the republic in a more disordered condition—a mockery of a state, hopelessly divided in itself, without influence abroad, without power on land and sea, without future, living alone in the remembrance of its great past and in the prosperity left by that past."

The war over, internal strife became fiercer than ever. The old-time prosperity had been largely destroyed by the war: trade and commerce had gone to England and neutrals, industry was disorganized, and the colonies were in decay. The cause of all the woes of the republic was loudly proclaimed to be the antiquated form of government, as shown in the aristocratic rule of the regents and of the stadtholder. Opposition gradually centered against the latter and his removal was demanded, while the state itself was to be remodeled upon democratic principles. Some of the regents themselves were imbued with these principles, and they consequently became the leaders of the new movement which found most of its supporters among the intellectuals of the cities. The people at large still clung to the memories of Orange, but as they were dissociated from the government their wishes were not consulted. By various

means and measures the power of the prince was much curtailed, at first to the delight of the aristocrats who meant to gather up the authority lost by the head of state but who soon found out that the forces now at work and which were to sweep them away also were already beyond their control.

A period of confusion and revolutionary movements followed the war, and French ideas and leadership became the guiding factors while English influence and Prussian interest were strong counterforces. The republic, in 1785 committed to a French alliance, thus became not only the victim of its own contending factions but also the subject of foreign power and interference. There were at first three parties in the state: the patriot, the regent and the Orange or stadtholder party. The rapid growth of the patriot party soon forced a coalition between the two latter parties, who sought to check the rising discontent and the introduction of a more popular government. Holland and Utrecht led the way in an organized resistance to the old system of government, followed closely by Gelderland, where the Van de Capellens, known for their American sympathies, held sway. The prince and his advisers at first weakly gave way, and this made the revolutionaries, counting on aid from France, bolder than ever. The army and navy were still in favor of Orange, but the prince hesitated to use them against the patriots, although the English ambassador openly advocated a counter-revolution in favor of the stadtholder party. While matters thus went from bad to worse, an incident occurred which brought about the intervention of Prussia and the restoration of the old order.

It so happened that the princess, who was a sister of the king of Prussia, was stopped and delayed on a trip to the Hague by some over-zealous citizen guards and was furious at the treatment thus received. A reparation was demanded of the Provincial Estates and as promptly refused. England and Prussia threatened, but with no result. As Holland would not punish the guards, on the grounds that no insult had been intended, the king of Prussia sent an army which soon overcame the small Dutch citizen army. The regular army, be it remembered, was still pro-Orange, and opposed to the patriotic innovations. Amsterdam alone held out for a while, but as French help did not arrive finally submitted in despair. The revolution, such as it was, had failed, and the prince was "restored" to his offices and full dignity, while the patriots were punished with removal from office, imprisonment and exile. Many went into voluntary exile, mainly to France, which welcomed the

patriots of 1787 with open arms, the "first fruits" and the promise of its own revolution.

The restoration of the archaic system in the United Netherlands naturally broke the back of the French alliance, and allied the Dutch republic once more with England and also with Prussia. A state so constituted could not forever delay its fall, nor could foreign aid prevent the final catastrophe. The last period, from 1787 to 1795, was a time pregnant with mighty events and portentous warnings. The French revolution of 1789 was casting its shadow before, encouraging the Dutch patriots and causing gloomy forebodings among the regents and all adherents of the old system. Every province was divided against itself, and only the danger of Holland's supremacy kept the rest of the provinces in common accord at all. There was no feeling of a national and indivisible unity which made them forget their separate existences: this feeling was to be instilled through many bitter years of French oppression. The army was without leaders and discipline, the navy had practically ceased to exist. Foreign commerce was declining, while colonial trade was at its lowest level. Thanks to the treaties with Prussia and England, however, the foreign position of the republic was somewhat improved, as these two powers virtually became its protectors. The last days of its existence were further brightened by the fact that in Van de Spiegel, the state pensionary, it possessed a man of uncommon intelligence, great moderation, fine patriotism and spotless integrity. The stadtholder, too, more conscious of his responsibility, applied himself with great diligence to affairs of state, while the new appointees in the government were all firm adherents of the house of Orange and of the traditional scheme of government. If the republic could be saved, then its present condition was hopeful and not beyond promise of recovery.

Foreign complications soon presented great difficulties for the republic. In Belgium the liberal-mindedness of Emperor Joseph II had caused strange results. The attempt of the emperor to change the antiquated institutions and laws for a modern representative government met fanatical opposition on the part of the people, especially from clergy, nobility and local bodies, such as guilds and cities, proud of their ancient freedom and suspicious of any attempts to coordinate their charters and organizations into a more centralized and organic whole. The opposition to the reforms became soon dangerous to the authority of the emperor and threatened to establish a new state in Europe, or merge Belgium with France. Fortunately for the Austrian government Louis XVI still ruled in

France, so that help from that quarter could not be extended to the Belgian revolutionaries. As the emperor persisted in his desire to introduce the new system of government, he abrogated the ancient bill of rights called the *Joyeuse Entrée*, and dissolved the recalcitrant councils and provincial estates, thus adding to the general confusion. Many people went into exile, among them the former leader of the opposition, Van der Noot, who went about from court to court soliciting aid to make Belgium independent. A close union with the Dutch republic was suggested also, showing the great interest the northern Netherlands had in the state of affairs in the south.

Meanwhile the French Revolution took place. A month after the fall of the Bastille, a revolution occurred in Liège, which was quelled by Prussian troops but against Austria. From Liège the insurrection spread to other parts of the country, the weak authority of the Austrian government being soon overthrown. The Provincial Estates met at Brussels in 1790 and established as States General the "United States of Belgium," maintaining the old laws and constitutions of the country. This reactionary spirit was unsatisfactory to the liberal element, now made bold by the progress of events in France and desirous of following the path of the great revolution. The three allied powers of Prussia, England and the Dutch republic resolved not to interfere in Belgian affairs, unless the emperor should request their help. Prussia now came to an agreement with Austria regarding the restoration of order in Belgium, and the short-lived Belgian republic expired without a blow. Thus another state was regulated into its former condition by the concert of Europe.

Affairs in France now required the attention of the great powers. Louis XVI, alarmed for his safety and desiring to get back his autocratic power, secretly besought Austria and Prussia to make war on the Assembly, hoping thereby to regain his former authority. War accordingly was declared, but the expected restoration did not follow. The Prussian invasion of France was stopped at Valmy, the Convention declaring the republic on the same day in 1792. All France arose as one man to repel the invaders and to bring the blessings of liberty, fraternity and equality to other oppressed peoples. The defeat of the Austrians at Jemappes put Belgium into French hands, to the great delight of the Belgian patriots but to the deep anxiety of the Dutch republic, scarcely recovered from its own uprising. Belgium was annexed to France in order to enjoy the benefits of the revolution, and Holland might expect the

same fate, once the hungry French patriots extended their zeal to free more peoples from the yokes of their governments. In this the French were urged on by the Dutch exiles, many of whom formed a foreign legion in the army of the French republic. Diplomatic relations between the two republics had already been broken off in August 1792, when on February 1, 1793, the Convention declared war on "the king of England" and the "stadtholder of the Dutch republic." England, of course, was the chief enemy, but the Dutch republic, being an ally of England, naturally must be attacked also. After some initial successes, the French were thrown back, and the Dutch republic saved once more. Dumouriez, the French general, was disowned by the Convention, but as he had monarchical leanings he evacuated Belgium, thus exposing France to the victorious armies of the allies. Great plans were now made by the coalition against France but were dashed to the ground by the unexpected resistance of the French army, now greatly enlarged under Carnot. The campaign went badly for the allies, the Netherlands again being menaced by the French, who were meanwhile still in communication with the Dutch patriots.

The following year, 1794, went disastrously for the allies and the Dutch. Deprived of Prussian aid the republic fought a losing campaign against the French, while the Austrians and the English were as decisively defeated. Belgium was lost the second time, and Dutch Brabant and Flanders occupied by the French. Only a nominal resistance would meet their armies on the march to Amsterdam and Utrecht, once the Meuse had been crossed. Maastricht and Nimeguen fell, as did Bois-le-Duc, placing the country at the enemy's mercy. With the small English army remaining inactive, and the Dutch army retiring from the frontier forts, after offering valiant resistance, the patriots were busy with their appeals to the French to come and end the hated Orange government. They wanted French aid, not a conquest, in order to found a new state based on the ideas of the great revolution. But the mass of the people, still loyal to the house of Orange, and horrified at the excesses of the revolution, did not want a change in the government, at least not in this way. The French, on their part, were not eager for a new Dutch republic, so that hope revived of concluding an honorable peace. It was not till a delegation from the Dutch patriots persuaded the National Convention at Paris that imperative action was necessary that the command was given to invade Holland itself. Once given, there was little or no opposition. Small wonder, for the Dutch troops numbered only four thousand men, while the

English and Hanoverians counted but eleven thousand. The province of Utrecht surrendered. Holland felt in like mood, for the defenses had been given up one by one. The prince's government had apparently abdicated.

Worst of all, the prince of Orange did really abdicate. Without adequate internal support, deserted by the allies of the republic, the prince stadtholder found himself a "man without a country." The French refused to treat with the republic so long as he was at the head of it, and the patriots desired him gone, while the common people were powerless to help him—reasons enough why he contemplated flight to England. At a gloomy session of the Estates of Holland he admitted that the province could not be defended any longer. On the same day he with his family embarked at Scheveningen for England—an exile from the country which his forefathers had redeemed from Spanish oppression and saved repeatedly from French domination or conquest. The long-threatened French supremacy over Dutch affairs was now an accomplished fact, to be followed during the reign of Napoleon by a complete annexation. On the same fateful day that the prince of Orange left Holland the famous old Dutch republic ceased to exist, the government almost automatically suspending its functions. Its place was taken by the so-called Batavian republic, organized upon French revolutionary principles by the committees of patriots in the various provinces. Thus perished a state which once proudly acclaimed itself as the "Commonwealth of the United Netherlands," which during a short history of two hundred years rivaled, if not eclipsed, the glory that was Greece, which transferred definitely the seat of empire to northwestern Europe, and opened the way out of ecclesiastical bondage and political tyranny to civil liberty and religious freedom, two indispensable attributes of civilization.

## MORE'S UTOPIA.

BY C. H. WILLIAMS.

IN the September *Open Court* we touched upon the influences at work to make More interested in the topics discussed in his *Utopia* and which helped to stimulate that interest when it had been aroused. It is our task now to examine the material More had in his possession to assist him in the development of the plan which matured about 1516 into the book *Utopia*.

It was not the practice of sixteenth-century authors to attach

to their books a bibliography of the literature which they found helpful in the preparation of their work. But from hints dropped at different times and places it is possible to reconstruct More's library and to forecast with some amount of certainty the kind of remarks he would have made had he been inspired to preface his work with such an explanatory bibliography.

His preface would inevitably have begun with an eloquent tribute to the value of classical literature. After an elaborate account of its functions in the intellectual development of the young and a plea for more classical education in the schools and universities the author would concentrate his attention upon the Greek writer to whom he owed most. Mention of the name Plato would call for a graceful panegyric from the pen of the disciple and would lead naturally to an explanation of some of the chief debts which More owed to his master. Such remarks would inevitably be followed by the statement that More owed all his love of Greek literature to the fascination of the Platonic works. His jesting spirit found its counterpart in the sparkling wit and cynicism of Socrates with his searching examination of the realities of life and his revelation of truth and falsehood. More's frolicsome soul must have rejoiced in much of the delightful irony of the character whom Plato bequeathed to the world as Socrates. *Utopia* is animated from beginning to end with the spirit of the Socratic dialogues. It owes its very plot and form to the wonderful work of the Greek. More would have no scruples in confessing that the form of *Utopia* was inspired by the dialogues of Plato. He made use of Plato's scheme of expounding knowledge by means of a conversation between two or three characters (one or more of whom had a special message) to present in a dramatic form the message which he himself had for his generation. Nor is this the only admission that he would be bound to make. He borrowed the very idea of his ideal commonwealth from Plato's "Republic," a work which attempted to do for its author's generation what More hoped to accomplish for his own age. The basic idea of the "Republic" was its foundation on principles of communism and this thought More borrowed as the vital idea of his new state. Without it many of the points which he describes as being characteristic of Utopia would have been quite impossible because they owe their very existence to the fact that there was no such thing as private property in the ideal state.

By admissions such as these the author of *Utopia* would justify the statement that he owed all to his knowledge of Platonic litera-



ture. Second to Plato in his influence on More was probably Plutarch, traces of whose works (especially the "Lycurgus") are seen in the *Utopia*. Although he and Erasmus had translated some of Lucian's dialogues which probably proved helpful, More's statement that Greek literature is the most important of classical studies is borne out by the fact that he owed little to any of the Latin authors save Cicero and Seneca. But let him speak for himself: "Wherof he knewe that there ys nothyng extante in the Lattyne tongue that is to anny purpose sauynge a few of Senecaes and Ciceroes doinges."

If the assertion of Mr. Churton Collins is correct there is one other Latin writer whom More would have to mention in his prefatory note. Tacitus's *Germania* certainly coincides in many places with descriptions found in the *Utopia* and it is quite probable that More found the work helpful, if only for geographical suggestions.

We are unable to state with certainty how much More owed to Tacitus but we may have no scruples in putting Augustine's *De civitate Dei* on the list of authorities to receive mention by the author of the ideal commonweal of Utopia. The influence of this work on the newly called lawyer has been seen. He lectured upon it, and his lectures witnessed to the fact that he thoroughly appreciated Augustine's point of view. The early father was building an ideal city, the city of God; he was showing the possibilities which the ideal held and More saw in no uncertain light the significance of that ideal. He too was constructing an ideal city, but he extended Augustine's plan. He built a city and adorned it with all the genius of pagan thought. He fashioned a city of God on earth in which anything of beauty even though it were of earthly origin should find a place. That he altered the views of Augustine and used them for another purpose does not relieve him of the heavy debt—a debt which we may rest assured would be acknowledged by the author of *Utopia*.

In matters of literature and learning More was not a bigot. Citizen though he was of the great republic of letters which embraced all Europe and extended its privileges to the great men of every nation, More never forgot that he was an Englishman. He never became the cosmopolitan Erasmus was, a man with no abiding city and no strong patriotism. More loved England and things English, and it is hard to believe that such a lover of his country could have found it in his heart to reject anything of artistic value which had been produced in previous years by his English predecessors. As a lover of learning and literature he must have rejoiced

over the finished products of Chaucer. He could not have resisted the sly sarcastic hits which that light-hearted poet aimed at the institutions of his day. More's soul must have been gladdened by the character sketches of the Canterbury pilgrims with their very definite if good-humored attacks on church and state and their severe condemnation of the abuses of the time. Though the *Utopia* is not modeled on any of the Chaucerian works and owes little material directly to them it is scarcely credible that their influence on More was negligible. Chaucer's delightful satire on his age was very suggestive to one who saw very clearly the evils of his own days and must have helped to point out to More the more vulnerable parts of English society and manners which had remained unreformed even after the dashing attack of Chaucer.

It is dangerous to attribute too much importance to works unless we can trace their influence very definitely or have direct mention of them in our author. Perhaps neither test is forthcoming in the case of the early English satirist. Both are certainly evident to prove the influence of the Italian Pico della Mirandola. Mention has already been made of the fact that More translated the works of this author in his early legal days. They made a deep impression on him. He never forgot the inspired language of the Italian as he sang the praises of a contemplative literary life.

When he wrote: "Nowe I lyue at lybertye after myn owne mynde and pleasure whiche I thynke verye fewe of thes greate states and peeres of realmes can saye," his thoughts must have flown back to the days when he translated Pico's words: "I set more by my little house, my study, the pleasure of my books, the rest and peace of my mind, than by all your king's palaces, all your business, all your glory, all the advantage that ye hawke after and all the favor of a court."

He thinks of all that Pico and his thoughts have done for him, how they have ruled his life, reconciling the culture he acquired from his pagan studies with the sweet simplicity of Christian faith, leading him away from the outward show of so much that passed for monasticism and guiding him toward the true religion which is "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world." More owed much of the tolerance which finds expression in the *Utopia* to the Italian Christian who had left all and taken up his stand by the side of the poor and afflicted of his native land. It was Mirandola who first made him realize the futility of royal pomp and the importance of common poverty, who first trained his eye to see the path of the humble

and the afflictions of the poor. Little wonder then that More should occupy so large a place in his preface with a loving tribute to the works of Pico della Mirandola.

Deep as was the influence of the preceding works on the literary style and aspirations of More no one of them in itself is sufficient to account for the production of *Utopia*. That work owes its real inspiration to an event which took place in 1507, the publication in a geographical treatise of a description of Amerigo Vespucci's *Quatuor Americii Vesputii Navigationes*. The Renaissance spirit was in the air. Men were at this time keenly interested in exploration and travel, and we may be certain that no one took a greater interest in voyages of discovery than did this man who embodied the Renaissance spirit. More read with delight the descriptions of new lands and peoples which Vespucci discussed in this little work. He had traveled in North African waters and explored the districts from the Canary Islands to Cape Verde. Here he had discovered a race of people who suggested many of the characteristics of the Utopians. The account proved very helpful to More when he attempted to draw up the customs and institutions of the islanders and was the inspiration of the new commonwealth which he described some nine years later in his book. He weaves the very narrative around a man who had accompanied Amerigo in his journeyings. More would find great difficulty in discharging to the full the obligations under which he rested to Vespucci for his suggestive treatise.

With the message of thanks to Vespucci the long task of his prefatory note would be drawing to an end. Two pleasant labors would remain for More to discharge as only his courtly and accomplished pen could have done. The longer of them would be a fond eulogy of his friend Erasmus to whom he owed so much. The chats had delighted many an hour, the letters they had exchanged, the clever satire of the *Encomium Moriae*, the worldly wisdom of the *Adagia*, the definite attacks of the *Enchiridion* upon the religious hypocrisy of the age, all these sources of inspiration would be mentioned lovingly and a tribute paid to their charming author.

Last of all would be a graceful tribute to a kindred soul. One wonders, but in vain, what would have been the lucid Latin phrase expressing the gratitude of Thomas More to the master spirit who had drawn him from the cloister to a busy life of letters and professional activity. Consciously and otherwise Colet had much to do with the book *Utopia* and his claims upon the author's gratitude would have been unstintedly discharged.

That such an explanatory note was not written was due, as we have said, to the fact that the practice had not yet arisen of attaching bibliographies to works. In More's case it was due also to another and more obvious cause. *Utopia* was written as a *jeu d'esprit* to be circulated among his friends. It was a clever satire written for the benefit of the company of well-informed critics of the age by one of their number who had been out into the world and mingled with its every-day affairs. More wanted to give his friends his idea of the world viewed from the politician's standpoint just as Erasmus gave the circle the impression of a wandering scholar and Colet the wise maxims of an educated reformer. That this was the case is clear from the fact that it appeared in Latin. Bacon wrote his more pretentious works in Latin because he had little faith in the future of the English tongue. More did not make the same mistake. He used Latin because it was the language of the circle of friends and also because it would not be understood by many in the outside world. And *Utopia* was not meant for the crowd. The veiled hints of Book I in which More attacks the royal council chamber, the sly hits at diplomacy, the scarcely veiled condemnation of war, the definite attacks on the extravagance of the English court, all these things were too dangerous to be known to the world at large, too likely to bring down upon their author's head the wrath of royal arrogance had they been openly proclaimed. Discretion, ever a virtue, is supremely so in one who attacks the powers in authority.

More was particularly anxious that his work should not bring him into conflict with the men and institutions whom he had attacked. He had taken the greatest pains to make it appear a work of fiction. To increase the illusion, and emphasize the air of unreality which shrouded his book he appended a letter to Peter Giles. After profound apologies for the delay which has attended the publication of the account "which you and I together hard maister Raphaell tel and declare." More explains that his son John Clement "who as you knowe was ther present with us" has brought him into a "greate doubte. For wheras Hythlodaye (oneles my memory fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, which goeth over the riuer a myle in lengthe: my Jhon sayeth that ii hundred of those paseis must be plucked awaye for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboute three hundreth paseie in bredthe." He prays Peter to call the matter "hartely to his remembraunce."

But the matter can be remedied easily if Peter will consult Raphael himself on this point and another which had arisen through carelessness. "For neither we remembered to enquire of hym, nor

he to tell us in what parte of that newe worlde Utopia is situate." This is important because a friend of More, eager to increase religion (*sic*) "is mynded to procure that he maye be sent thether of the byshoppe, yea and that he hymselfe may be made bishop of Utopia."

Peter, like a loyal friend maintains the fiction. In a letter to "The Right Honourable Hierome Buslyde, Prouost of Arien and Counselloure to the Catholike King Charles" he brings the book *Utopia* to his notice with a tribute to More's ability: "Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and consider them drawn and painted oute with master More's pensille, I am therwith so moued so delited, so inflamed and so rapt that sometime me think I am presently conuersaunt euen in the ylande of Utopia." He keeps up the mystery of Utopia by his explanation that its position "by a certen euell and unluckie chaunce escaped us bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof one of master More's seruantes came to him and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loude that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer stynte nor rest until I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: insomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instruct you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande but also in the iust latitude therof."

Thus did friends in that republic of letters loyally assist the production of one another's works.

Peter was a good friend. He it was who prepared the work for its first publication in 1516 by Thierry Martin at Louvain. He appended a copy of verses written in the Utopian tongue and the alphabet of that language and also, as he explained, "garnished the margent of the boke with certain notes." The work was a success. A few months later a new edition came from the press of Gilles de Gourmont at Paris. In 1518 the renowned Froben of Basel produced two handsome editions under the supervision of Erasmus and illustrated by Hans Holbein. The Juntine Press of Venice took the work in hand and issued a fifth edition in 1519 followed next year by another edition at Basel.

Thus far the Latin text had always been published. In 1551 Ralph Robinson translated the work into graceful Elizabethan English, and it found a publisher in Abraham Vele and a patron in Cecil, Lord Burleigh. A second corrected edition came in 1556, followed by a third in 1597 and a fourth in 1624. In 1684 Bishop

Burnet attempted a new translation, but what this work gained in fidelity to the Latin text it lost in style. There have been a few modern editions of the work: that of Dibdin in 1808, of Professor Arber in 1869, the scholarly work of Dr. Lumby in 1879, an edition in 1887 by Roberts, by William Morris in 1893. In 1904 Prof. Cherton Collins published an annotated edition which is in the main that of the Elizabethan version.

#### THE BOOK ITSELF.

*Book I.* More starts out by explaining how he was sent by Henry VIII as an ambassador to Bruges to meet representatives of the king of Castile. While on his visit he was met frequently by Peter Giles, a man of learning who introduced him to a stranger, "a man well stricken in age wyth a blake some burned face, a large beard, and a cloke caste homely aboute hys shoulders, whom by hys favour and apparel forthwythe I iudged to be a maryner." The stranger by name Raphael Hythlodaye (which denotes one skilled in babble) is well versed in Latin and Greek and has traveled in the company of Amerigo Vespucci. The three sit down in More's garden and chat.

The stranger begins to relate his experiences in foreign lands and to describe the laws and institutions governing these polities especially those of the island of Utopia. Many of these laws are such as our cities might imitate.

After Raphael had entertained them for some time with his description of foreign countries Peter is moved to express his surprise that the stranger had not settled down as an adviser of some royal court, for any king would welcome such a learned counselor. Raphael repudiates the suggestion that any king has any desirable gifts to offer him. More meets this by suggesting that the traveler should do it even at his own cost for the sake of putting into the king's head plans favorable to the commonwealth's prosperity. Raphael replies that this is impossible for two reasons. In the first places princes have more delight in war and chivalry (of which Raphael has no knowledge) than in peaceful pursuits, and secondly the great advisers who have the king's ear despise another man's advice and insist on their own policies. Such an indictment, he adds, is true even of England.

More is naturally interested when he hears that Raphael has visited England, and questions him as to his experiences there. It transpires that Raphael had visited the country shortly after the insurrection of 1497 and during his stay owed much to the good

offices of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor. There follows a panegyric on Morton. Raphael goes on to relate an incident which occurred at Morton's table when a lawyer who was present praised the severe law which punished theft with death, though, as he adds, "he coulde not chewse but greatly wonder and maruell, howe and by what euill lucke it should so cum to passe that theues neuertheles were in euery place so ryffe and ranke." Raphael felt bound to reply that this was not to be wondered at since such a punishment for theft exceeded the limits of justice and was harmful to the commonwealth. For it is too drastic a punishment and only results in greater crimes such as murder. What was wrong, he added, was the social system which provided no means for men to earn a living and forced them "fyrste to steale and then to dye." He proceeds to enumerate some of the unemployed—old soldiers, retainers, serving men who when they are turned adrift are good for nothing.

"But," suggests the lawyer, "in them as men of stowte stomackes, bolder sprytes and manlyer currages than handy crafte men and plowe men be, doth consyste the whole powre strengthe and puissance of our host when we must fyghte in battail." This brings up the subject of military preparations and war. Having dealt with these Raphael proceeds to mention other important causes of poverty and crime. Sheep farming meets with severe treatment. "Your shepe that were wont to be so myke and tame and so smal eaters now, as I heare saie, be become so greate deuowrers, and so wyld, that they eate up and swallow down the very men them selves. They consume, destroy, and deuoure hole fieldes, howses and cities." Sheep farming has caused a rise in prices. In addition to all this, the rich are very extravagant. If poverty is to be reduced reforms must be introduced on Raphael's plan:

"Caste out thies pernycious abomynacyons: make a lawe that they whyche plucked downe fermes and townes of husbandrye, shall buylde them up agayne or els yelde and uprender the possessyon of them to suche as wyll goo to the coste of buyldynge them anewe. Suffer not thies ryche men to bye up all, to ingrosse and forstalle and with theyr monopolye to kepe the market alone as please them. Let not so manye be brought up in ydlenes: lett husbandrye and tylage be restored agayne: let clothe workynge be renewed: that there maye be honest labours for thys ydell sorte to passe theyre tyme in profytable, whyche hytherto other pouertye hathe caused to be theues or elles nowe be other vagabondes or ydell seruynge men and shortlye wylbe theues."

The lawyer would have replied to these schemes but the Cardinal cut him short and asked Raphael why he thought death too great a punishment for theft and with what would he replace it. Raphael suggests as alternatives the Roman system of sending thieves to state quarries and keeping them chained for life, or the plan of a Persian clan whom he had visited, among whom thieves lose their rights and become public slaves. At this juncture a lively quarrel between a jester and a friar is depicted and an opportunity is given the author to make several subtle thrusts at the friars. After a little difficulty the Cardinal restores order and this ends the account of Raphael's English travels.

The conversation returns to the original question of entering royal service. More still holds that it should be done if only for the sake of the commonwealth, but Raphael argues that kings will not hear philosophers unless they themselves value philosophy. Here follows an account of a contemporary council chamber in which each of the great men is seen trying to win the day without a thought as to the potentialities of the plans of their rivals. This in turn is followed by a brilliant criticism of Henry VIII's futile alliance with France though it is subtly veiled under the names of Utopia and the Achorians. Raphael explains that he would be quite out of place in a council chamber for his plans would never be understood.

The hopelessness of contemporary politics makes him think of the "wyse and godlye ordynaunces of the Utopians amonge whom wyth verye few lawes all thynges be so well and wealthele ordered." His praise of that country is met by Peter's, "Surely it shall be harde for you to make me believe there is better order in that newe lande then is here in thies countreyes that wee knowe."

It is to meet this challenge and to satisfy More's "I pray you and beseeche you descrybe unto us the Island," that after dinner Raphael proceeds to offer some observations on the land, cities, peoples, manners, ordinances, laws and all interesting things to be found in Utopia.

*Book II.* In the course of his remarks on Utopia Raphael mentions the following facts which distinguish that commonwealth from European states. The island of Utopia is an elective monarchy which guards against tyranny by the threat of deposition of the despot. The inhabitants of the island live in healthy well-planned cities where communal principles have free play.

"The stretes be appoynted and set forth verye commodious and handsome, bothe for carriage and also agaynst the wyndes. The houses be of fayre and gorgious buyldyng and in the streete



syde they stonde ioyned together in a longe rowe throughe the hole streete without anye partition or separacion. The stretes be twenty fote brode. On the backe syde of the houses, through the hole lengthe of the strete, lye large gardeynes whyche be closed in round about with the backe part of the stretes. Euery house hath two doores: one into the strete and a posternne door on the backsyde into the gardyne. . . . Euerye man that wyll maye goo yn, for there is nothyng wythen the howses that ys pryuate or anyne mannes owne. And euerye X yeare they change their howses by lotte."

Such a communal system prevents trade rivalry among the inhabitants and does away with greed for more possessions. Instead of a self-centered activity every one labors for the good of the community and considerations of public welfare outweigh all selfish aims. To reach such a state all luxury and idleness must be abolished. No one is allowed to live on the labors of another. Every one has to take a share in the manual work necessary to the upkeep of the commonweal. Under such a system it is found that no man need work for more than six hours a day. The suggestion is made that every one take his turn at town and country life alternately so that no one is condemned for life to a distasteful occupation. The Utopians recognize the value of education and it is to enable every one to be properly trained that such a labor system has been introduced. A great part of the eighteen hours which is not spent in manual work can be devoted to training the intellect and acquiring some knowledge of the arts and sciences.

Most of the virtues of Utopia owe their origin to the stress laid on education. It is because the Utopians have been well trained to exercise their reasoning powers that they have such a sane outlook on life. They are brought up to despise the precious metals and gems. "By all meanes that may be, they procure to haue gold and siluer among them in reproche and infamy." "For they marueyle that anyne men be soo folyshe as to haue delyte and pleasure in the glysterynge of a lytyll tryfelynge stone, whyche maye beholde anyne of the starres, or elles the soone yt selfe." They are not the slaves of fashion. On the contrary "their clokes thoroughe owte the hole llande be all of one colour and that is the naturall colour of the wool." Vanity in all its forms is distasteful to them. "Also as they count and reckon very lyttel wytte to be in hym that regardeth not natural bewtie and comeliness so to helpe the same with payntinges is taken for a vayne and a wanton pryde not without great infamye."

It is to the benefits of education that the Utopians owe their

sane ideas on such things as gambling, hunting and hawking. "For what is there (saye they) in castynge the dice upon a table which thu hast done so often, that if theire were anye pleasure in it yet the ofte use myghte make the werye thereof? Or what delite can ther be, and not rather dyspleasure, in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte when a dogge followeth an hare then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thyng is done in both, that is to saye runninge: if thou haste pleasure therein. But if the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in pieces the beaste dothe please the, thou shouldest rather be moued with pitie to see a seely innocent hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger: the fearefull of the feare: the innocent of the cruell and unmercyfull." Or again "For they counte huntynge the loweste, vyleste, and moste abiecte parte of bocherye."

Europeans are deceived by the glamor which veils the reality of war. But in Utopia "Warre or battel as a thinge verye beastelye and yet to no kynde of beastes in so muche use as it to man they do detest and abhorre and contrary to the custome almost of all other natyons thye cownte nothing so much against glorie as glory gotten in warre." It is the policy of the Utopians to avoid war wherever possible and to try to achieve their aims by diplomacy. "They rejoyse and avaunte themselves yf they vaynquishe and oppresse their enemyes by craft and deceyte." (It is one of More's ironic comments on the European diplomacy of his age.)

Since war is an evil the Utopians "thruste no man forthe into warre agaynste his will bycause they believe yf annye man be fearefull and faynte hearted of nature he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardye act hymself but also be occasyon of cowardeness to hys fellowes." War is a painful necessity which it is the duty of Utopians to avoid if possible. If thrust upon them they strive to be victorious and in their victory they do not forget to make the vanquished pay the cost of war.

Utopia is a land where physical strength is cultivated and admired. But weakness and old age are not despised. The old are honored for their worldly wisdom, the sick are cared for in hospitals and fed with the most delicate luxuries procurable. Elaborate hospitals are provided and isolation wards for contagious diseases. The sick are visited and nursed back to health with a care unknown in contemporary Europe. In their treatment of disease the Utopians anticipate some modern suggestions—should a person be afflicted with a disease which racks him with pain and offers him no hope

of cure he is advised by the priests to make an end of his misery by suicide. Such self-condemned men are held in the highest esteem and buried with full honors. But the scheme is not meant to justify suicide. "He that kylleth himself before that the pryestes and the counsell have allowed the cause of hys death hym as unworthy both of the earth and of fyer they cast unburied into some stinkyng mar-rish."

In depicting the Utopian character More is able to get several sly hits at the men and institutions of his day. Referring to their love of a simple legal system he playfully tells his fellow lawyers that the Utopians "utterly exclude and bannyshe all proctours and sergeauntes at lawe which craftely handell matters and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thynke it most mete that every man shoulde pleade his owne matter and tell the same tale before the iudge that he would tel to his man of lawe. So shal there be less circumstaunce of wordes and the truth shal soner come to light whiles the iudge with a discrete iudgment doth waye the wordes of hym whom no lawier hath instructe with deceit."

Monasticism with its self-punishments and fasts comes in for attack. "But yet to despise the comelynes of bewtye, to waste the bodylye strengthe, to tourne nymblenes into sloughishnes, to consume and make feble the boddye with fastynge, to do iniury to health and to reject the other pleasaunte motions of nature (onles a man neglects thies hys commoditytes, whyles he doth wyth a feruent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the commen proffytte, for the whyche pleasure forborne he is in hope of a greater pleasure at Goddes hand els for a vayne shaddowe of vertue, for the wealth and proffette of no man, to punyshe hym selfe or to the intente he maye be able corragiouslye to suffre aduersityes whyche perchaunce shall neuer come to hym: thys to doo they thynke it a poynte of extreame madnes and a token of a man cruelly minded towards hymselfe and unkynde towarde nature. . . ."

More's attacks on war we have seen already. His opinion of treaties is no better. "The mo and holyer cerymonies the league is knytte up with, the soner it is broken by some cauillation founde in the woordes."

Literature and learning are held in great esteem. They are always ready to learn and never weary of welcoming strangers to their country provided they bring news of other lands and teach them something new. All that the ancients taught in music, logic, arithmetic, geometry they have discovered for themselves, but the hairsplitting of the scholastic logician, which More refers to in very

cutting sarcasm, has not troubled them. Astronomy appeals to them and their knowledge of it is quite as deep as that of European scholars, but astrology receives condemnation as a superstition not a science.

Their moral philosophy is a curious medley of Epicureanism, Stoicism and Christianity. The Utopians believe that true pleasure is the end of life: that life should be lived according to nature and should be controlled by reason. This philosophical outlook is modified by certain religious and theological principles such as the belief that the immortal soul is ordained by God to happiness, that rewards and punishments are given for the acts of man on earth.

In the last chapter of the work More rises to a height of speculative idealism hardly to be surpassed. He is discussing the religions of the island: "For there be dyuers kyndes of religion not onely in sondry parts of the Ilande but also in dyuers places of every citie;" "All however agree in believing that there is one supreme Deity the maker and ruler of the hole worlde." The keynote of the Utopian regime is toleration. The Christian fanatic is exiled "not as a despyser of religion but as a seditious person and a rayser up of dissention among the people." One person is deprived of toleration. The atheist has no sympathy. Utopians believe implicitly in the immortality of the soul. Death has for them no sting. They approach it gladly and submit to it in peaceful confidence. Funeral rites are glad not mournful because death is part of the divine order of human affairs. The priesthood is open to women. Priests are overseers of all divine matters, censors of public morals, instructors of the young and peacemakers.

The highest flight of fancy is the description of the religious service. More speaks of religious emotion and mysticism inspired by the softened twilight of the Utopian church. No sect or creed is allowed to obtrude itself: men of all beliefs congregate to worship the supreme Deity in simple fashion. Religious rites and ceremonies are performed at home. Nothing to which any sect could take offense is done in the state church. The worship is marked by great reverence, joyful music and solemn prayer. The service is plain and not narrowed down to any sectarian form.

The ideal is a glorious one. That even its own author failed to realize it in practice is hardly to be wondered at much less censured by the present generation for with all our increased knowledge we have failed to realize Sir Thomas More's ideal.

The concluding passages of the *Utopia* are too good to be left

unquoted. They reveal the author's purpose when he wrote his work.

"Nowe I haue declared and descrybyd unto yowe as truly as I coulde, the fourme and ordre of that commen wealthe which verely in my iudgement is not onlye the beste but also that which alone of good ryght may clayme and take upon it the name of a commenwealthe or publyque weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealthe but euerye man procureth hys owne pryuate wealthe. Here where nothyng is pryuate the commen afayres be earnestly loked upon. . . .

"Here nowe woulde I see yf anye man dare be so bolde as to compare with thys equitye the iustice of other natyons. Among whom I forsake God if I can fynde any signe or token of equitie and iustice. For what iustice is this that a ryche goldsmythe or an usurer. . . . should have a pleausant and a welthy lyuyng other by Idilnes or by unnecessary busynes? when in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronsmaythes, carpenters and plowmen by so greate and continual toyle. . . . do yet get so harde and poore a lyuing and lyue so wretched a lyfe that the state and condition of the labouring beastes maye seme meche better and welthier. . . .

"Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all thies commen wealthes which now a dayes any where do flourish so God helpe me I can perceauie nothing but a certein conspiracy of riche men procuringe theire own commodities under the name and title of the commen wealth. . . .

"So must I nedes confesse and graunte that many thinges be in the utopian weal publique which in our cities I may rather wisshe for than hoope after."

With this acknowledgment of its idealism the *Utopia* ends. It remains to examine the work as a whole and to draw some conclusions as to its value and importance.

#### ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

Bearing in mind the genial love of fun of the author we shall do well not to take the work too seriously. It is a satire—More's contribution to the lively literature of his jovial humanist friends. It expressed the views of the little band on many subjects. Its attacks on friars, monasticism, war, society, were not new. Such views had been expressed by his friends in many conversations, and had seen the light in Erasmus's works. The *Utopia* is the shadow cast by coming events. It is the harbinger of change, of social evolution, religious reform and political reconstruction. But its

satire is different from anything that had gone before. It is a kind and genial work which hurts no one with bitter insinuation or contemptuous insult. Nevertheless, its geniality does not destroy its influence. Its satire does not blast its victim by its bitterness but it often raises a laugh against him and makes him look a fool. It is fatal for a man or institution to lose prestige through the slashes of a ridiculous humor, and many sixteenth-century men and institutions felt the cuts of More's *Utopia*.

As a satire its chief merit lies in the way in which it is concealed. The trick of the prefatory letter, the air of unreality which pervades the whole work, disarms suspicion and yet does not allow one's interest to flag. The author's main object was to ridicule existing governments, particularly that of England. Erasmus distinctly states that More had his own country in mind all the while when he wrote *Utopia*. As we have seen, the work abounds in attacks upon Henry VIII or his diplomacy, his wars, his extravagance. But there is nothing definite to attack in it. The satire is cleverly concealed and the vague comparisons between Europe in general and the ideal state of Utopia completely disarmed the critics who might be looking for mention of England by name.

It is this original treatment which differentiates the *Utopia* from the work of satirists like Chaucer and the author of *Piers Plowman*. They state the evils of their times in good set terms and proceed to condemn them violently. More often ignored the present but by his skilful painting of an ideal world he tempts his reader almost unconsciously to compare the ideal with the sixteenth-century reality. Others too often speak at their audiences through their characters, More hides the fact that he is speaking and Raphael seems to be depicting a real commonwealth. They have never any real solution to the problems which they mention: they are content to draw up a long and severe indictment of the age. More is not satisfied with criticism. He has schemes of reform to bring before the public, and a remedy for every evil he depicts.

It is this air of practicality about the whole work which makes the *Utopia* so valuable. True, it would live in literature were it only for the fact that it is a unique exposition in bold terms of man's real sympathies just when he is being drawn into an office which he heartily dislikes. Surely no courtier ever wrote such dangerous heresies before. But that is not the *Utopia's* greatest claim to perpetuity.

Its chief importance lies in the fact that it is a political pamphlet of the utmost value, a reformer's handbook to the social prob-

lems of the age and a practical attempt at reconstruction. More's object was not to draw a picture of the new Europe which was to rise out of the swirling flood of social change consequent on the collapse of medievalism. All he wished to do was to set men thinking and to put into working order in an actual society some of the ideas whose practicability contemporaries denied. They ridiculed the doctrines of Lollardy and medieval socialism. He built a commonwealth founded on communism where he disproved the sixteenth century assumption that some were born to labor and others to employ. He showed communism at work and the results which flowed from its success. They scorned the idea of free thought and toleration. He showed how these things could be and even though he failed to regulate his life by his own ideals it is no condemnation of the ideal, rather is it a tribute to the sensitive genius of his imagination which could grasp such vague and unheard-of visions and set them down concretely before the eyes of an admiring crowd of readers. Contemporaries emphasized the value of treasure, honors etc. He showed how unimportant all these things could be. They never thought of exercising the virtues of kindness and charity. He showed them how impoverished human life would be if graces such as these were never brought to bear upon the ugly cruel facts of suffering and pain.

The objection is sometimes made that the *Utopia* is an absurd exaggeration. So it is. More meant it to be so in order that the changes he suggested should be understood by those who read his work. In his attempt to excite the interest of his contemporaries in the subject which he thought was all-important if England was to be a progressive nation. More often made deliberate exaggerations. He wanted to make men think. He saw that the great evil of his age was that men were content to leave matters connected with the commonwealth to chance. They never tried to understand the problems of their age, and until they did begin to think of social questions there could be no great improvement. The *Utopia* was intended to be a stimulant to thought. Had it fallen for examination into the hands of some twentieth-century reviewer his criticism would be in some such words as these: "Mr. More has written a highly entertaining and stimulating book. We cannot agree with many of the whimsical suggestions which fill his pages and show the academic and somewhat theoretical nature of his thought. But there are many good ideas which we commend to the thoughtful attention of those who are interested in social reform. The book abounds with brilliant thoughts and is a very original

treatise on an important question." And indeed not even the most superficial reader could fail to see originality in the *Utopia*. The book was a new departure in political literature. It was a clever work of fiction which attracted attention and made men think. That was the object More had in mind and he achieved his aim.

The ideal state depicted in the *Utopia* was not meant to be a plan for English reformers to adhere to, line for line. Many of its suggestions were far too unpractical for a nation set in the world among other states to adopt *en bloc*. There were grave objection to many of the ideas expressed in the *Utopia*. Not a few of the damaging criticisms made by Aristotle upon the communistic schemes of Plato can be urged with quite as much success against More's plans. Nor can the scheme of education he outlined be accepted as perfection. The products of that scheme have many serious faults. We feel that the Utopians were not a pleasant people. They give one the impression that they were intellectual prigs. They are not lovable. Education has made them cold and rational and has transformed them from men into mere automata open to no suggestions of sentiment, softened by no emotions, moved by none of the passions that inspire common men. Like Pater's ideal man they "burn always with a hard gemlike flame." They are extremely practical—even war is turned into a paying business affair by the levying of indemnities—but we miss the romantic touch in their character which would have brought them into closer connection with ordinary mortals.

These people as drawn for us by More seem to be supermen in embryo, whose characters do not attract our sympathy or win our admiration. And even if they did appeal to us it does not seem as though the human race could evolve their characteristic qualities for many generations. The Utopians are the product of an educational system which would have to be introduced in the nation which adopted the Utopian ideal and it would take a long time to develop such a system. Heredity and the influences of any other obstacles would have to be removed before the system would begin to make itself felt in the development of character.

These and similar remarks are what the critic who takes More's suggestion seriously would level at the book. They do nothing to destroy the value of the *Utopia*, but they show us very clearly what the author had in mind when he wrote his work. More painted no New Jerusalem that any disciple of his could bring to earth before he reached the limits of the appointed threescore years and ten. His state was not intended as a model for a nation in the ordinary world.



More's state was definitely *οὐ τόπος*. It was a brilliant suggestive example of what could be done if men had the courage to initiate revolutionary changes. The secret of his work lay in the emphasis it placed upon the need for change if men desired social evolution. To show what he was aiming at More made changes and revealed the influence they had on civilization. He did not make his suggestions as though they were the only changes possible or desirable. They were examples of how reforms would work, and the benefits that would accrue to civilization by the policy of change.

Some of the thinkers of the time saw the point that More was laboring to present and they followed his lead. That is the reason for the rapid advance of social reforms during the next few generations. The *Utopia* did a great work by teaching men to think on social questions. And that is where we must still look for its value. Even though many of its ideals are fanciful, not all of them are meaningless to the world even in the twentieth century. Many of the problems with which it deals are still important. If Thomas More could pay a visit to our age he would not feel a stranger. There would be many things to interest him, things quite familiar to him from his sixteenth-century experiences. More would come to us filled with his old enthusiasm for social questions and eager to see how we have solved the problems that had worried him. Some of our solutions would undoubtedly be pleasing to him. More would be proud of modern England because she has realized the great importance of the problem of town life. He would be glad to see that there is growing up a desire for well built pleasant towns and garden cities. His sympathy could not fail to be attracted by our attempts at town planning. Our care of the sick and impotent would meet with More's approval. Hospitals and well-organized schemes for medical attendance, the thorough supervision of our schoolchildren by officers of health, baby crèches and a thousand other schemes of modern reformers would delight the man whose life was spent in stimulating interest in such problems in the sixteenth century.

His keen enthusiasm for education would enable him to see the value of libraries, museums, and other places intended to be used for the enlightenment of our population. He would be glad to see that men to-day realize the value of education and make some attempts to train the young. Such an enlightened outlook would be very pleasing to the man who lived in an age when such views on education were unknown.

But in his wanderings around the world our visitor must meet

with many things to give him pain. How sad at heart a London slum would make him! What a load of sorrow would oppress him as he saw the sights of poverty that meet the observant passer-by in any of our streets! In his visits to the factories and workshops of our great industrial districts he would not be able to prevent the thought that all the sights he saw proved plainly that many of his schemes were yet ideals. We have not reached the stage at which all work a little and no one is condemned to spend more than six hours a day in manual labor. We still have slaves of industry and while this is the case we cannot hope for any real scheme of education. We have technical schools and evening classes. These would win More's sympathy; but he could not refrain from pointing out that while we have our present labor system these can be of little use. He would not be satisfied with our system and would realize that even modern England still has far to go before it is Utopia.

More would be very much in sympathy with all these serious problems that we have to solve. He would know how difficult they are and how they worried thoughtful men of his generation. Such questions as the reconciliation of church and state was one that was beginning to trouble people in his day. He had a scheme of settlement. England to-day is bothered with the same problem. Modern thinkers are trying to settle the problem of the church's position and are talking of a reconciliation of the sects and the formation of a national church. We seem to be returning to a solution something like the one proposed by Sir Thomas More. This problem calls upon the modern world to solve it as does the greater question of the future of the state. What are to be the lines of progress along which the state will travel in the future? More's generation had to face the same question. The author of *Utopia* found the answer in communism and advocated it as the solution of a number of the troubles in the commonwealth. More realized the futility of social work without radical reform. He began by altering the state and founding it again on communistic principles. The modern world has not decided whether More was right. Meanwhile it has not tampered with the state and has made no vital changes in the distribution of wealth. The question must be settled before we can have great reform. And men to-day are wondering whether More was right and whether they will be well or ill advised in following the example of the *Utopia*.

Looking at the world to-day, More would be sorely disap-

pointed. To his distress he would discover that the tragedy of war still occupies the stage of human history. His soul was sickened at the brutal means adopted by his age to settle national disputes. What would he say if he could see the ghastly scenes that make us sad to-day—devastation, death, calamities of all kinds everywhere. His great soul would go out in sympathy to us—a generation which he thought had grasped the meaning of civilized society, and which has solved so many social problems only to be beaten by the most appalling and yet the most absurd of all of them. We know the great calamity of war better even than Sir Thomas More could know it, and this fact alone would bring some consolation to the great man's disappointed soul. Sad at heart he would be at our failure to stop war but idealist as he was he could not be too pessimistic. The fact that the world is sick of war would give him hope, and he would turn to us with an encouraging promise that great progress would be bound to come after the calamity if men would grasp their opportunities. And so with all the things that he had seen. Praise would be ever on his lips at any signs of progress he could see; and even if at times he saw our failures he would pass them with a word of comfort that would bid us pull ourselves together and begin to solve the problems still ahead. What he would insist upon is that we shall always need reform. He wrote his *Utopia* as a vindication of change in the body politic and he would still maintain his profound belief in the efficacy of reform.

Every age brings its own problems but no age solves them all and what it does not solve it passes on to its successors. Many sixteenth-century difficulties have been settled for all time, but many more have lingered as festering sores in the body politic growing worse as time goes by and the conditions of modern life irritate them. Then we muddle on and all because no statesman has been bold enough to apply the remedies of the man who knew his age and prescribed for many of its complaints. Our age lacks courage to make the great reforms and wherever we are cowardly we make no progress. We are on the threshold of a new age. The proud edifice of modern civilization is being tried as by fire and no man knows as yet what parts of it will stand the test. Much has already fallen in and other things will be destroyed before the end of the disaster. Such destruction forces on us schemes for reconstruction. In the work which must begin almost at once men will have to be courageous. They will have a great work before them and they will need inspiration. They must seek it everywhere and at all

times. It must be said of them as it was said of the Utopians "for they have delyte to heare what ys done in everye lande."

They could do many worse things than start their search for inspiration in the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More.

## EARLY DUTCH ART.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN presenting in this number the significance of Dutch history for the Anglo-Saxon world we should mention that the Netherlands form an important link in the development of modern civilization. It is here that almost every industry developed at the end of the Middle Ages and at the beginning of modern times, and the little Dutch republic, brave little Holland as it has been aptly called, was the first people that dominated the seas though small enough in proportion of number to be easily thrown out by the English when that nation entered into the first period of its strength.

It was in Holland that the English printers learned their trade; the first English book was printed by Caxton in Holland. Weaving too was imported into England from Holland. The commercial centers of the world were to be found in these days in the Dutch cities including Belgian Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent and other Flemish cities.

In art, however, their influence has been of lasting significance. Soon after the Renaissance of Italy artistic life showed itself in the Netherlands, and here there originated a peculiar style influenced by but independent of the Italian Renaissance. The old school of Dutch painters were peculiar in their imitation of nature. It is astonishing how true to life they were in reproducing their own surroundings, even where they presented the ideals of religious or classical subjects. The first great masters of the Dutch school are the Brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck who painted the altarpiece of Ghent, and how natural are the faces pictured there! The work was begun by Hubert, but when he died in 1426 it was continued by his brother Jan who completed it in 1432. Our frontispiece represents one detail in which the Virgin is represented as the Queen of Heaven. It is true she is adorned with a fantastic crown but otherwise she is a Dutch woman dressed in the gorgeous style of the rich merchants' wives. Another detail which we reproduce shows



THE ANGELIC CHOIR.  
By Hubert and Jan Van Eyck (Altar at Ghent).

a choir of angels singing their anthems. These too are healthy Dutch girls with blonde hair and buxom figures.



THE UPRIGHT JUDGES.  
By Jan Van Eyck (Altar at Ghent).

The same altarpiece contains also a collection of "Upright Judges," and we may be sure that all of them are pictures of Dutchmen. There is no face among them which is not a real living personality, and in fact it is known that two of the number are por-



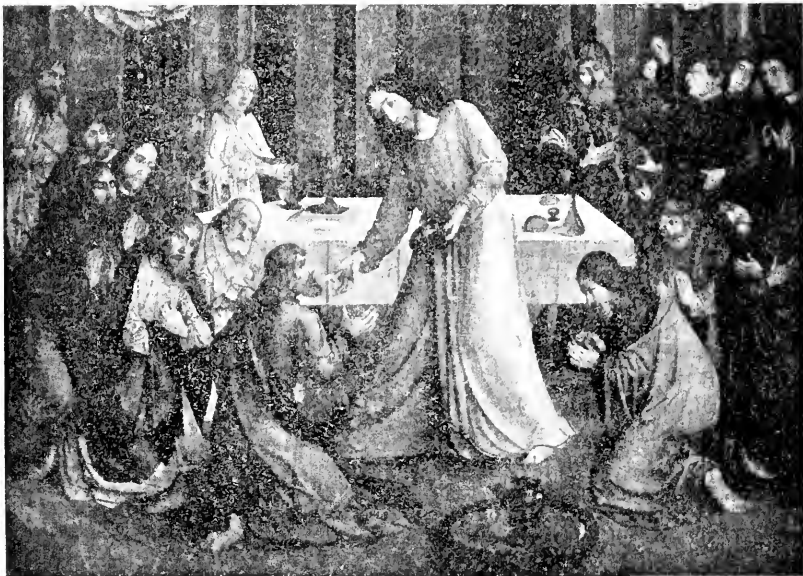
ST. ELIGIUS.  
By Petrus Cristus.

traits of the artists of the frieze, the one in the foreground on the white charger being the older brother Hubert, and the fourth in the procession directly facing the observer, Jan.

Money-changers played an important part in Holland, and here is a typical instance of how the Dutch wove their own lives

into their religious ideas. A young couple who have become engaged have bought their wedding rings, and their portraits are to be perpetuated by some artist who in this case bears the strange name Petrus Cristus. The bride and groom are represented as standing behind St. Eligius, the patron saint of the goldsmiths. So a young Dutchman is arrayed in the robes of a monk to impersonate the saint, is decorated with a thin and elegant golden halo and is represented as weighing the rings of the young couple to show that they possess the right weight.

The institution of the Lord's Supper is painted by Justus of



THE LAST SUPPER.  
By Justus of Ghent.

Ghent approximately in the style in which the Dutch celebrated the sacrament in those days. The bread is in the shape of a wafer and the recipients kneel, passing the administrant (in this case the person of Christ himself) one by one in a kneeling posture. Among the disciples the Dutch type prevails, but in the attempt to make the Christ supernatural he becomes a fantastic figure without reality. The washing of the feet is indicated by the bowl and pitcher in the foreground of the picture.

A peculiar humor not uncommon among the Dutch is illustrated in a picture by Hieronymus Bosch which is called "The Stone-



Cutting." In a Dutch phrase, "to have one's stones (*keye*) cut out," means to get rid of one's follies and eccentricities. The artist represents the moment in which the man who suffers from *keye*



THE STONE CUTTING.  
By Hieronymus Bosch.

submits to the operation for their removal. His wife is sitting opposite with a book on her head. The surgeon has his head covered with a Nuremberg funnel, the instrument through which dullards have the juice of wisdom poured into their heads. The hole in the head cannot be made by the skilful operator without inflicting pain on the patient for whom sympathy is expressed in the faces of the spectators. A friend sits near with a flask of some soothing lotion in his left hand. The background is a landscape with a church in the center. The inscription reads: "Meester snijt die keye ras, myne name is bibbert das," which means, "Master cuts the stones out; my name is Trembling Badger."

## THE BLOSSOMING ROD.

BY PHILLIPS BARRY.

A LEGEND of St. Joseph, that when a husband was being chosen for the Virgin, his staff put forth leaves and blossoms, and the Holy Spirit was manifested in the form of a dove, is locally current in Malta.<sup>1</sup> The first documentary record of it is not earlier than the eleventh century;<sup>2</sup> by the thirteenth it is well established in the hagiography.<sup>3</sup> The miracle of the dove alone is found already in the *Protevangelium Iacobi*, written about the year 358.<sup>4</sup> Obviously, the later tradition of the hagiography embellished this simpler form of the story when the legend found its way into folk-lore. As now current save in Malta, however, only the marvel of the blossoming rod remains.<sup>5</sup> With the etiology of this miracle as part of the lore of the pastoral staff the present essay will deal.

<sup>1</sup> O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, II, p. 265: "Als für die hl. Jungfrau ein Mann gewählt werden sollte, befanden sich in einem Kloster viele Jünglinge. . . . Man versammelte sie alle im Chor der Kirche, und brachte lange Wanderstäbe herein, worauf jeder einen wählte. Auch brachte man mit den Stäben zugleich eine weisse Taube herein, welche nun auf den Altar gesetzt wurde. Jene Stäbe waren aber sämtlich dürr und abgelagert,—der Prior sprach jedoch, 'Derjenige dessen Stab grünen wird, soll der Bräutigam sein.' Und gleich darauf blühte der Stab des hl. Joseph, trieb Blätter, Knospen und Schösslinge,—die weisse Taube aber flog ihm zu."

<sup>2</sup> C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 67, an interpolation in Codex B of the Pseudo-Matthaean Gospel.

<sup>3</sup> O. Schade, *Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione B. M. Virginis*, VII: "[Joseph] virgam aridam. . . . ad manum pontificis dedit, que vidente populo universo Iudeorum, frondibus et fructibus et floribus germinavit, et spiritus sanctus descendit, et in columbe specie in ea resedit."

<sup>4</sup> C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 18, "τὴν δὲ ἐσχάτην ῥάβδον ἔλαβεν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἰδοὺ, περιστέρα ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς ῥάβδου."

<sup>5</sup> O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, II, pp. 265-6, from Italy and the Tyrol.

In the hagiography the staff is a characteristic attribute of a saint, the case type of which was suggested by the habit of the monk whose staff was allowed him by St. Pachom as a part of his equipment.<sup>6</sup> When seen in a vision the saint appears staff in hand<sup>7</sup>—in his capacity of thaumaturge he cannot be without it. In fact, its prominence in legends of miracle-working is sufficiently marked to suggest hagiographic influence in folk-tales of wizards and sorcerers. Even Christ, as Dr. Carus has pointed out, was early represented with a magician's wand.<sup>8</sup> Of the miracle of the staff which, when planted in the ground, comes to life and grows into a tree, numerous instances are on record down to the seventeenth century.<sup>9</sup>

The earliest known documentary witness is *The Martyrdom of Matthew*, an early hagiographic romance of the second half of the fourth century, most probably written in Egypt.<sup>10</sup> In this text Jesus, appearing to St. Matthew, gives him a staff which according to directions he plants in Myrna, a city of the cannibals. The staff forthwith becomes a great tree:

“νῦν οὖν ὁ Ματθαῖε, δέξαι τὴν ῥάβδον μου ταύτην, καὶ . . . εἰσελθε εἰς Μύρνην τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων, καὶ φύτευσον αὐτὴν. . . ἦν δὲ θαῦμα μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν, ἣ γὰρ ῥάβδος εὐθέως βλαστήσασα ἠΰξήθη καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον μέγα.”<sup>11</sup>

Gregory of Nyssa (d. 390) records an Armenian tradition concerning a tree said to have been raised from the staff of St. Gregory, planted by himself:

“εὐθὺς γὰρ οὐ μετὰ πολλὸν χρόνον ἡ μὲν βακτηρία ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐρριζώθεισα, δένδρον ἐγένετο. . . ὄνομα δὲ μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν ἐστὶ τῷ δένδρον ἡ βακτηρία, ἀνημόσυνον τῆς Γρηγορίου χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως.”<sup>12</sup>

Next in chronological order are a story told by one Postumianus, who about the year 402 visited the Thebaid (of which

<sup>6</sup> Jerome, *Regula S. Pachonii*, LXXXI: “Nemo . . . habet praeter ea quae in commune monasterii lege praecepta sunt. . . exceptis his. . . et bacello.”

<sup>7</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, p. 328: “I saw a monk. . . having wings. . . and he had a golden staff in his right hand.”

<sup>8</sup> *The Open Court*, March, 1914, “The Portrayal of Christ,” pp. 157-9.

<sup>9</sup> After this it disappears from the hagiographic tradition.

<sup>10</sup> J. Flamion, *Les Actes Apocryphes de l'Apôtre André*, p. 318. At an early date the hagiographic romance became a distinct literary genre, constructed according to a stereotyped form.

<sup>11</sup> R. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I, 2, pp. 220, 225.

<sup>12</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, “De Vita S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi” in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XLVI, cols. 929-931.

mention will be made in a later paragraph),<sup>13</sup> and an anecdote of Bishop Shenute of Atripe related by his pupil and successor Besa:

"Notre père, apa Schnoudi, . . . prit son *bâton de palmier*, vint près du puits, l'étendit, le planta, et à l'instant, le bâton prit racine, fit pousser en haut des branches et des régimes des dattes."<sup>14</sup>

Besa calls the staff of Shenute *bai*, whence as a loan-word the Greek *βαις*, "palm-branch."<sup>15</sup> It appears that, beginning with St. Anthony, Egyptian monks carried staves of palm. A text written in the Fayumic dialect, and consequently relatively early, shows that the palm-staff had become a conventional attribute, assumed even by the devil when disguised as a monk.<sup>16</sup> As furnishing additional evidence, the following documents may be here cited, as translated from the Coptic.

1. *Vie de St. Paul de Thebes* (c. 400): "Le bienheureux Antoine se leva, il sortit. . . son *bâton de palmier* à la main."<sup>17</sup>

2. *Vie de Schnoudi* (457): "Mon père saint apa Schnoudi s'approcha de la meule, il posa sur elle son *bâton de palmier*."<sup>18</sup>

3. *Ibid.*: "Il frappa un palmier dans la terre de l'île avec la petite branche qui était dans sa main."<sup>19</sup>

4. *Vie de Jean Kolobos* (c. 500-600): "Mais le vieillard. . . abba Amoi venait chaque jour du matin avec son *bâton de palmier*, et le chassait."<sup>20</sup>

5. *Vie de SS. Maxime et Domece* (uncertain date): "C'était un homme. . . ayant sur sa tête une cuculle. . . il avait en ses mains un bâton" (in Coptic, *shbôt nbai*, "staff of palm").<sup>21</sup>

In an Arabic text of the *Acts of Matthew*, a document of

<sup>13</sup> See below.

<sup>14</sup> E. Amelineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne*, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Macc. xiii. 51; John xii. 13.

<sup>16</sup> E. Amelineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne*, "Vie de Paul de Tamoueh," p. 766: "Le diable. . . prit la forme d'un moine, vêtu d'une peau, et qui portait de petits rameaux de palmier." A Bohairic text on St. Macarius, the Egyptian, states that "the staves of monks were of palm." (G. Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Coptiorum*, 128.)

<sup>17</sup> E. Amelineau, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXV, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> E. Amelineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne*, p. 14.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

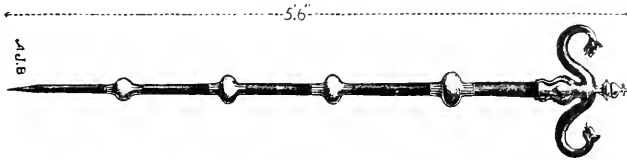
<sup>20</sup> E. Amelineau, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXV, p. 335.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

Egyptian provenience,<sup>22</sup> the following directions are given to the evangelist:

“Strip from thee this dress, and put on the dress of priests. And shave the hair of thy head and of thy beard. And gird up thy loins, and take the *bough of a palm-tree in thy right*<sup>23</sup> hand.”

A ritual use of the palm-branch had been long familiar in the mysteries of Isis.<sup>24</sup> As the caduceus, borne in the same ceremonies, became the characteristic attribute of the Coptic bishops,<sup>25</sup> so the



A COPTIC CROZIER.\*

palm-stave passed into Egyptian Christianity as the property of the monks. In the case of Shenute the reported miracle of the staff planted by the well and growing to a tree has perpetuated in hagiographic tradition a misconception of the usual method of propagating the palm itself.

“The date palm, unlike the majority of palms, produces offshoots, or ‘suckers,’ at the base of the stem. . . . In all regions where its culture is an important industry, (it) is almost entirely propagated by removing and planting the offshoots.”<sup>26</sup> This fact is clearly stated by Theophrastus<sup>27</sup> and Pliny.<sup>28</sup> Trogus, however, according to Pliny, reported that the palm was grown from leaves

<sup>22</sup> The Acts of Matthew, known only from an Arabic manuscript of the fourteenth century, and an Ethiopic translation of later date, must have previously existed in Coptic, and may be tentatively assigned to the period of monastic literary activity in Egypt, c. 400-600.

<sup>23</sup> A. S. Lewis, *Mythological Acts of the Apostles*, p. 102.

<sup>24</sup> Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 10: “ibat tertius (sacerdos) attollens palmam auro subtiliter foliatam, nec non Mercuriale etiam caduceum.” *Ibid.*, II: “Hic horrendus. . . . Anubis, laeva caduceum gerens, dextera palmam virentem quatens.”

<sup>25</sup> A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, II, p. 218 ff. Compare Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 8, 11.

<sup>26</sup> Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C., Bulletin 53, *The Date Palm*, pp. 14, 20.

<sup>27</sup> Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum*, I, 2: “ὁ φοῖνιξ δέχεται γὰρ καὶ ἐτέρας γενέσεις παρὰ τὴν σπερματικὴν, τὰς τε γὰρ ῥόβδους φασὶ μισχεῖν περὶ Βαβυλῶνα τὰς ἀπαλωτάτας, καὶ ὅταν ἐμβιώσονται, μεταφυτένουσι.”

<sup>28</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XIII, 8: “Et ab radice avulsae vitalis est satus.”

\* From A. J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, II, p. 220.

in Babylon.<sup>29</sup> Even Pliny himself in another chapter, mistook the meaning of *ῥάβδους* in his Greek source and stated that the palm was grown from its young branches.<sup>30</sup> It is not surprising, then, that a Coptic hagiographer endowed with the *Lust zu fabulieren* characteristic of his people, should perpetuate the misinformation. An additional reason for the error lay in the fact that a number of exogenous trees, cultivated by the ancients for fruit or for shade<sup>31</sup>—among them the olive, ash, willow, hazel, apple, and fig—were propagated by slips or cuttings.<sup>32</sup> With this bit of horticultural lore as furnishing the basis of fact, legends of the miraculous growth of trees from the staves of holy men and women readily became part of the hagiographic tradition.<sup>33</sup> In witness whereof, the following documents may be put in evidence.

1. *Olive. Martyrdom of St. Epime* (Coptic, c. 400-600): "Tum servi Iulii deposuerunt corpus S. Apa Epime. Cum essent in manu eorum baculi e ligno *olivæ* isti statim pulchros fructus protulerunt."<sup>34</sup>

An Abyssinian legend ascribed the origin of a certain olive tree at Buk to the planting of a stick of dry wood by Jesus.<sup>35</sup>

2. *Ash. Acta SS. Bertarii et Ataleni* (c. 900): "Fige in terram baculum et excipe martyrium. . . . At ille, figens palum in terram, horam praestolatur ultimam. . . . Lignum aridum deseruit siccitas, et induit viriditas. . . . hinc erecta grandis arbor fit *fraxinus* pulcherrima."<sup>36</sup>

3. *Hazel. Miracles of St. Germain* (878): "Per pagum Tullensem iter carpens. . . . *columnam* quam forte manu gestabat virgam humi defixit. Explicata praedicatione. . . . ramusculos iam frondesque produxerat."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVII, 9: "Nam folia palmarum apud Babylonios seri atque ita arborem provenire Trogum credidisse demior."

<sup>30</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XIII, 8: "Satus et ramorum tenerrimis,"—the phrase being a close rendering of Theophrastus, *De Causis Plantarum*, I, 2:

"τὰς γὰρ ῥάβδους. . . φασὶ μοσχέειν τὰς ἀπαλωτάτας."

<sup>31</sup> Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, II, 4: "ἢ ἐλάα βλαστάνει. . . . καὶ ἀπὸ ῥάβδου."

<sup>32</sup> Theophrastus adds that olive wood will sprout, even when made into a door-post or an oar: "ἐκ βλαστάνει δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἐλάνα. . . . ἐὰν ἱκυάδα γαμβόνη. . . . ὡσπερ ἡδη τις στροφένης τῆς θύρας, ἐβλάστησε, καὶ. . . κώπη ἐν πύλῳ." (*Historia Plantarum*, V, 9)

<sup>33</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVII, 13: "Avolsi. . . . stolones vixere. . . . hoc modo plantantur puniceae, *coryli*, *mali*, sorbi mespilae, *fraxini*, *fici*."

<sup>34</sup> I. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum Aegypti*, p. 97.

<sup>35</sup> R. Hofmann, *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, p. 184. An Arabic version of the story, ascribed to the Egyptian bishop Cyriac, makes the number of trees three, without naming the species. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>36</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 6 July, II, 319.

<sup>37</sup> *Acta St. Boll.*, 31 July, VII, 257. Hazel-wood was believed to possess magical properties, as shown by the lore of the divining-rod.

*Vita S. Alenae* (c. 1200?): "Sancta Alena... baculum... in terram defixit, capellam intravit, et divinis laudibus expletis regressa, baculum germinasse, foliaque produxisse invenit, qui in *corylum* quae adhuc durat... excrevit."<sup>38</sup>

4. *Apple. Anecdote of St. John the Lamb*<sup>39</sup> (980): "Baculum... infigans humo, 'sicut,' inquit, 'est impossibile lignum hoc aridum terrae radicibus inhaerere, florere pariter et fructificare, sic impossibile scias verba quae dicis in me impleri posse.' Mox... lignum superficiem mutavit, terrae inhaesit, corticem induit, viruit, floruit, fructum protulit."<sup>40</sup>

A later document specifies that the tree bore a peculiarly fragrant variety of apple, called after the saint himself.<sup>41</sup> It is also of record that the crozier of St. Boniface, set in the ground after his martyrdom by a pious woman to whom he had given it, became an apple-tree bearing apples of amazing beauty and sweetness.<sup>42</sup> A certain St. Janbonus, or John the Good, was said by a sixteenth-century writer to have raised an apple-tree from a dry stick, charred in the fire.<sup>43</sup>

5. *Fig. Vita S. Petri de Alcantara*<sup>44</sup> (1669): "Tunc ad illum guardianus, 'pater,' inquit, 'non inutile videbitur... inter has arbores ficulneam aliquam plantare...'. Ad quae S. Petrus... baculum... terrae infigit. Sed infudit illo instanti Deus virtutem, ut etiam sine cortice radices agens, ramusculos ac frondos emitteret."<sup>45</sup>

As far as is known, the legend of the fig-tree grown from the staff of Pedro de Alcantara brings to a close the hagiographic tradition of the blossoming rod.

<sup>38</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 17 June, III, 393.

<sup>39</sup> Bishop of Maastricht, c. 631.

<sup>40</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, II, 426.

<sup>41</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, II, 423: "Poma suavissimi odoris, quae ab eo tempore poma S. Iohannis ab hoc videlicet S. Iohanne appellata fuerunt."

<sup>42</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 30 Jan., II 1158, "Vita S. Thiadildis": "baculum... in terram fixit, sed mox... virorem recepit, radices alte in terram misit, floruit, fructum dedit, et melioris mala generis, (nam de arbore malo baculus praescissus fuit) nec temporibus illis nec postmodum nostris ab hominibus visa sunt aut gustata."

<sup>43</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 22 Oct., IX, 760 (cf. 794): "Sanctus vir Janbonus... habens in manu pomi arboris ramusculum... in terra fixit, et oratione facta, flores ilico apparuere."

<sup>44</sup> San Pedro de Alcantara, one of the most noted of Spanish saints, is remembered for his reforms in the rule of the Discalced Friars. As confessor of St. Theresa, his influence led to her reforms in the rule of the nuns.

<sup>45</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 19 Oct., VIII, 730.

The willow, universally noted for its tenacity of life, will grow, as Pliny observed, even when the slip is planted upside down.<sup>46</sup> A reference to the cultivation from slips of this tree is found in the *Shepherd* of Hermas (c. 140):

“λέγει μοι ὁ ποιμήν, λάβωμεν πάντων τὰς ῥάβδους, καὶ φυτεύσωμεν αὐτὰς, εἴ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν δυνήσονται ζῆσαι. . . τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ἰτέα ἐστι, καὶ φιλόζωον τὸ γένος. ἐὰν οὖν φυτεύθωσι καὶ μικρὰν ἰκμάδα λαμβάνωσιν αἱ ῥάβδοι, ζήσονται πολλαὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν.”<sup>47</sup>

Pliny states that rustics carried staves of swamp-willow, dreaded by snakes.<sup>48</sup> The sprouting of neglected staves was doubtless too common to pass for a miracle.<sup>49</sup> A tree thus grew from the staff of the Irish St. Mochoemog:

“Et ponens santus Mocoemog mastigiam suam in terra ibi, oblitus est eam, que crevit in magna arbore.”<sup>50</sup>

Evidently the croziers of these early bishops, easily thrust into the ground, were pointed, like those of the Coptic bishops at the present day.<sup>51</sup> Of this fact mention is actually made in the case of St. Patrick.<sup>52</sup>

So far nothing has appeared in the etiology of this miracle which is without foundation in fact, save for the rapidity with which the slip grows into a tree. In this feature of the legend is retained an element which is traceable to the mythology of the Egyptian Osiris,<sup>53</sup> whose character of vegetation-deity appears already in the Pyramid Texts, as shown by the following utterance:

“The yama-tree grows for thee, the nebes-tree turns about its head to thee.”<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Hermas *Shepherd*, III, 8 Similitude 2.

<sup>47</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVII, 13: “quae vel inverso surculo seritur.”

<sup>48</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIV, 44: “serpentes et hunc fruticem fugiunt, baculumque rustici ob id ex eo gerunt.”

<sup>49</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVII, 27: “casus. . . defractos serere ramos docuit, cum pali defixi radices cepissent.”

<sup>50</sup> “Vita S. Mochoemog,” 18 in C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, II, 173.

<sup>51</sup> A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, II, 219: “In every case these staves have the lower end pointed.” Compare also Fig. 30, *ibid.*, p. 220, reproduced above.

<sup>52</sup> W. Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 469: “The hinder end of the crozier went through his foot and wounded it greatly. Patrick said, ‘Why didst thou not protect thyself?’ ‘Methought,’ saith Oengus, ‘that it was a rule of the religion.’” The crozier referred to was the celebrated *Bachail Isu*, or staff of Jesus, with which St. Patrick was miraculously invested when he visited the islands of the Tyrrhenian sea after Pope Celestinus had refused to ordain him. (*Ibid.*, p. 420.)

<sup>53</sup> An actual version of the Osiris myth has passed into the Latin hagiography, “Vita S. Mochoemog,” 2.

<sup>54</sup> K. Sethe, *Die alten Pyramidentexte*, 1019.



In Christian tradition, a legend of a tree bowing its head before the infant Jesus first appears on Egyptian soil. Sozomenus (c. 400) records it as current at Hermopolis:

“παρ αἰγυπτίοις ἠνίκα διὰ τὸν Ἡρώδη ἔφυγεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ . . . ἔλθειν εἰς τὴν Ἐρμούπολιν, ἅμα δὲ εἰσιόντι παρὰ τὴν πύλην μὴ ἔνεγκον τοῦτο το δένδρον μέγιστον ὄν (a persea-tree) τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐδαφος κλίνειν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι.”<sup>55</sup>

Another version of the story passed into the Pseudo-Matthæan Gospel:

“Tunc infantulus Iesus læto voltu in sinu matris suae residens, ait ad palmam, ‘Flectere, arbor, et de fructibus tuis refice matrem meam.’ Et confestim inclinavit palma cacumen suum.”<sup>56</sup>

In a thirteenth-century legendary of the Virgin Mary both versions appear,<sup>57</sup> whence by way of the vernacular metrical hagiographs<sup>58</sup> it passed into oral tradition, as illustrated by the English “Cherry-Tree Carol” and a number of folk-tales.

Plutarch tells that the coffin containing the body of Osiris was said to have been carried by the river to Byblos, where it landed beside an erica-tree.<sup>59</sup> At once the tree put forth a new shoot, which grew to a great size, entirely concealing the coffin. This form of the story cannot be separated from the account in the *Tale of the two Brothers*, an allegorical version of the Osiris-myth:

“Two drops of blood over against the double doors of his Majesty. . . They grew as two great persea-trees,—each of them was excellent. . . His Majesty sat beneath one of the persea-trees, and it spake thus. . . ‘I am Bata, I am alive, though I have suffered violence.’”<sup>60</sup>

The barren olive-tree to which St. Pantaleon was bound, according to the Coptic legend, put forth fruits as the milk flowed from his severed neck.<sup>61</sup> Other records in the hagiography attest

<sup>55</sup> Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiac*, V, 21, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, LXVII, 1281.

<sup>56</sup> *Evangelium Pseudo-Matthæi*, 20 in C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 87 f.

<sup>57</sup> O. Schade, *Narrationes de Vita et Conversatione B. M. Virginis*, XXIV, XXX.

<sup>58</sup> E. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 15; “ἡ δ' ἐρείκη κάλλιστον ἔρνος ὄγιωι χρόνωι καὶ μέγιστον ἀναδραμοῦσα, περιέπτμξε καὶ περιέφυ καὶ ἀπέκρυψεν ἐντὸς ἑαυτῆς.”

<sup>60</sup> F. L. Griffith, *Library of the World's Best Literature*.

<sup>61</sup> F. Rossi, *Memorie della R. Acad. dei Lincei*. Ser. V, 1893.

a belief that the mere presence of a saint would stimulate new growth in dead wood.<sup>62</sup>

1. *Martyrdom of St. George*<sup>63</sup> (Coptic, c. 400-600): "The righteous man sat down by the foot of the wooden pillar...and it straightway took root and became a large tree....When....



ST. CANNA.\*

<sup>62</sup> Two parallels from Greek tradition, referring respectively to Hermes and Dionysus, may be cited:

1. Pausanias, II, 31, 10: "καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐνταῦθά ἐστι... πρὸς τοῦτωι τῶι ἀγάλματι τὸ ῥόπαλον θεῖναι φασιν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ ἦν γὰρ κοτίνου, ... ἐνέφν τῆι γῆι, καὶ ἀναβλάστησεν αὐθις," (a story which Pausanias did not believe.)
2. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XIV, 141-2:

"καὶ χλοεροῖς πετάλοισι κατάσκιος ἱερὶ γειτων  
ἴστος ἐὼν κυπάρισσος ὑπέρτατος."

<sup>63</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, pp. 222-3.

\* "Holding in her hand a staff, bursting into leaf and flower." From a fifteenth-century tomb at Beaumarais. Reproduced from S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the British Saints*, II, p. 70.

Dadianus the governor saw the tree, . . . he asked one of his rulers, 'Whence is this new sight, this fig-tree?'"<sup>64</sup>

2. *Vita S. Brigidae* (c. 839): "Fundamentum ligneum quo altare fulciebatur manu tetigit, quod lignum in commemorationem pristinae virtutis usque ad praesens tempus viride, ac si non esset excisum et decorticatum, sed in radicibus fixum, virescit."<sup>65</sup>

Similarly, St. George, when put to the test by Magnentius, makes the seats of the governors to grow and blossom like trees:

"When he had finished his prayer and said 'Amen' . . . the Spirit of God came upon the thrones, and they budded, and the legs put forth roots and blossomed; those that were of fruit-bearing trees put forth fruits, and those that were not put forth leaves only."<sup>66</sup>

It may be added that the notion of plant-growth being hastened by the supernatural influence of a saint is also of Egyptian provenience, being found in the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*:

"παραχρῆμα δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐβλάστησεν, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ σταχὺς πλήρης σίτου."<sup>67</sup>

"Similar miracles of the sudden maturing of crops have passed into the Latin hagiography,<sup>68</sup> likewise into popular tradition."<sup>69</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing evidence is that the legend of the blossoming rod is a complex product of mythologized fact and literalized symbolism, the former relating to a well-known method in arboriculture, the latter ultimately to the worship of the vegetation-deity. Once established in the tradition the legend was capable of indefinite adaptation, becoming a mere hagiographic commonplace.<sup>70</sup> The story told by Plutarch, that Romulus's spear, cast from the Aventine to the Palatine, became a cornel tree,<sup>71</sup> was taken over bodily into the late Irish life of St. Columba:

<sup>64</sup> This story has been taken over into the spurious *Acts of St. Charalampus* (*Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 10 Feb., II, 383), one of a number of hagiographs for which material was drawn from the legend of St. George.

<sup>65</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Feb., I, 136.

<sup>66</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, p. 216.

<sup>67</sup> *Acta Petri et Andreae*, 4, written in Egypt c. 400-500. (J. Flamion, *Les Actes Apocryphes de l'Apôtre André*, p. 311.)

<sup>68</sup> *Vita S. Fintani*, 5: "Primo enim sulco seminato, statim frumentum crevit et maturuit." (J. Reeves, *Vita Sancti Columbae*, p. 107, note d.)

<sup>69</sup> O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, II, p. 61.

<sup>70</sup> Of such adaptation many cases occur in the hagiographic documents which need not be cited at greater length.

<sup>71</sup> Plutarch's *Romulus*, XX: "καταδύσης δὲ τῆς αἰχμῆς εἰς βάθος . . . τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἐστεξεν ἢ γῆ ζωφύτος οὐρα, καὶ βλαστὸν ἀνῆκε, καὶ βλαστὸν ἀνῆκε, καὶ στέλεχος ἐμμεγεθὲς κρανεῖας ἔθρεψε."

"The Devil made a cast of a holly javelin.....across the stream.....Columb Cille..... cast it across the stream..... And that javelin grew where it touched the earth, and it is a great blooming holly tree."<sup>72</sup> It requires little boldness to trace the origin of any patriarchal tree to a staff planted by some saint. Such trees were held sacred,<sup>73</sup> not by association with pre-Christian tree worship, but through the deeply laid belief that the estate of a saint was sacrosanct.<sup>74</sup>

In illustration of the readiness with which a legend may pass, as in the case of the story of St. Joseph, from literary to oral tradition, a study of the theme of the "tree of forgiveness" may be put in evidence.

Sulpicius Severus (c. 402) records from one Postumianus, who had recently visited Egypt, certain details of the monastic rules for the neophytes. Obedience was the first law of the order. The novitiate was submitted to three years' probation, during which time he was bound to execute every command of his superior, however difficult or perilous or humiliating the task might be.<sup>75</sup> In one instance the abbot, on receiving the oath of the applicant, showed him a dry stick of wood which he planted in the ground and directed to be watered daily until it should put forth leaves. The neophyte did as he was bidden, carrying water from the Nile two miles away. At the end of three years the dry stick blossomed and became a tree, the same which Postumianus himself saw.<sup>76</sup> In the hagiographic tradition of the Coptic church, the young monk referred to in this anecdote is identified as the famous St. John

<sup>72</sup> Henebry, "The Life of Columb Cille," in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, V, 52.

<sup>73</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, 1 Feb., I, 189, "Vita S. Severi," (of a tree which drove woodcutters insane, killed cattle that ate the ivy growing on it).

<sup>74</sup> See my article, "Saints and Sainthood," *The Open Court*, Jan., 1914, p. 49.

<sup>75</sup> Sulpicius Severus, "Dialogues," I, 17: "Praecipua...ibi virtus et prima est oboedientia, neque aliter adveniens, a monasterii abbate suscipitur, quam qui tentatus fuerit et probatus, nullum umquam recusaturus, quamlibet arduum ac difficile indignumque toleratu abbatis imperium."

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 19: "Quidam itidem ad eundem abbatem recipiendus advenerat, cum prima ei lex oboedientiae poneretur, ac perpetem polliceretur ad omnia vel extrema patientiam, casu abbas storicinam virgam iam pridem aridam manu gerebat: hanc solo figit atque illi advenae id operis imponit, ut tamdiu virgulae aquam irriguam ministraret, donec quod contra omnem naturam erat lignum aridum in solo arente viresceret. Subiectus advena durae legis imperio, aquam propriis humeris quotidie convehebat quae a Nilo flumine per duo fere millia petebatur....Tertio demum succedentium temporum labente curriculo, cum neque noctu neque interdum aquarius ille cessaret operator, virga floruit. Ego ipse ex illa virgula arbusculam vidi."

Kolobos, or the Dwarf,<sup>77</sup> of Scete on the border of the Libyan desert.

“Certain jour Abba Amoi prit un morceau de bois sec, il se rendit dans un introit éloigné de sa cellule dans le désert, d’environ douze milles et il la planta là. Et Abba Amoi appela Abba Jean, son disciple, il lui dit, ‘Jean, mon fils, donne une vase d’eau chaque jour à ce morceau de bois, jusqu’à ce qu’il produise des fruits.’ . . . Faisant ainsi pendant trois ans, l’arbre vécut, il poussa en haut, il produisit des fruits.”<sup>78</sup>

A tree, alleged to have been the one raised by St. John, was pointed out to Père Claude Sicard, a French Jesuit, who visited the monasteries of Egypt in the year 1712.<sup>79</sup> Through the Arabic Synaxary, the story of the “tree of obedience,” as it was called, is doubtless still familiar as a record of an amazing miracle.<sup>80</sup> Yet in its origin it was not a miracle, since we know that among the monks of Egypt there were some who like St. John the Dwarf himself had a sense of humor.<sup>81</sup> It is reasonably certain that the neophyte was supplied with a properly cut slip needing only cultivation to become a tree.

The passage of the story from the hagiography to secular literature was by way of an Arabic text. One Hassan, long ill-treated by his father-in-law, when the latter has fallen into misfortune by reason of his sins, compels him to do penance by giving water every day to a dry stick planted in the plain of Damas, one hour’s walk from the nearest river. For three years the penitent waters the stick; it then grows green and becomes a peach-tree.<sup>82</sup> The peculiar turn given to the story is in the notion that the act constitutes not a test of obedience, but a form of penitential task. It is in this form that it finally reaches the level of popular tradi-

<sup>77</sup> John Kolobos lived in the first half of the fifth century.

<sup>78</sup> E. Amelineau, “Vie de Jean Kolobos,” in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXV, 347.

<sup>79</sup> *Acta Sanct. Boll.*, Oct. VIII, 40: “Aspice arborem hanc, vocatur arbor oboedientiae, et a duodecim saeculis, cunctis tempestatibus restitit, et aggressionibus ferarum et Arabum,—nunc crataegus est, sed olim siccum baculum fuit at abbate Poemene in hac sterili et fervida arena defixum. Hic abbas quondam celebri Joanni Parvo mandatum dederat, ut baculum quotidie irrigaret, quod morigerus ille monachus constanter per duos annos praestitit.”

<sup>80</sup> Graffin-Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, I, 352.

<sup>81</sup> St. John Kolobos fled to the mountains during incursion of the wild tribes from the desert. When asked if he feared death, he replied: “In the name of Christ my God, no. . . . If I stay, and the barbarian kill me, he will on my account suffer damnation!” (E. Amelineau, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXV, p. 391.

<sup>82</sup> Humbert, *Arabica Analecta*, pp. 89-126, cited by Basset, *Revue des traditions populaires*, XXII, 291.

tion, as found in folk-tales of the "tree of forgiveness."<sup>83</sup> From Rumania comes one of the best versions, of which the following is a brief summary:

"A fisherman in a bargain with the devil for riches, vows to give over in sixteen years that which is dearest to him. At the end of that time, his son, the intended price of wealth, following the advice of his tutor, dresses as a cleric and goes into the forest. There he comes to a house inhabited by a woman and her twelve sons, all brigands. One of them takes the youth to the Devil's cave in the woods, whence the imps repel him with cries of 'no clerics here!' Upon which he asks by what penance a murderer shall win grace. The imp replies, 'Let him plant the stick with which he killed his first victim, and water it with water he shall bring in his mouth till it grows and puts forth leaves, flowers and fruits, to be a sign that his sins are forgiven.' The brigands scorn penance; their mother, however, induces the youngest son to plant the stick with which he committed his first murder. Together they water it till it becomes a tree loaded with golden apples, which, falling to the ground, burst and release white doves. The other sons go before a judge, confess their crime, make restitution and are pardoned. As to the father of the youth, he spends his wealth in giving alms."<sup>84</sup>

In the medieval legend of St. Joseph, the miracle denotes the successful issue of an ordeal, or a rhabdomantic ceremony. The scriptural account of Aaron's rod must be similarly interpreted. It shows, moreover, that the cult application of a method in arboriculture was in use centuries before our era. As the rod was said to be of almond, a tree grown from seed,<sup>85</sup> it is evident that the story had reached a mere conventional form. In the Oriental legend of Rabrab,<sup>86</sup> or St. Christopher, which dates from the sixth century, the blossoming of his staff attests the validity of his mission to the heathen:

"Beatus Rebrebus, ingressus domum Domini, ante altare fixit virgam suam, . . . et procidens in faciem suam adoravit, dicens, 'Domine Deus meus, fac virgam istam frondescere, si vere vocasti me ad meditanda eloquia tua.' Et statim virga fronduit."<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> R. Basset, *ibid.*, pp. 290-292.

<sup>84</sup> A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, No. XV.

<sup>85</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVII, 30.

<sup>86</sup> *Rabrab* (Aramaic, "tall"; Syriac, *ravrab*, *raverreb*), whence Rebrebus, Πέπρεβος, of the texts, according to Gildemeister. (*Anal. Boll.*, X, 396.)

<sup>87</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, X, 396: "Passio S. Christophori," 4.

A pretty story from a Greek hagiographic text tells how the chastity of an aged monk was vindicated after his death:

“Un vieillard servait une vierge, et certains disaient, ‘ils ne sont pas purs.’ Le vieillard, en mourant, ordonna de planter son bâton sur sa tombe, et le troisième jour, il porta des fruits.”<sup>88</sup>

To the same category belong popular legends of persons unjustly charged with various crimes, whose innocence was similarly proven. In the German ballad of the Tannhäuser, a product of sixteenth-century anti-clericalism,<sup>89</sup> the salvation of the penitent minstrel is revealed by the blossoming of a cracked staff belonging to Pope Adrian IV.<sup>90</sup> In this ballad, the Pope’s oath by his staff recalls the words of Achilles:

“Ay, by the staff in my hand, since once from its stock on the mountains  
Sundered, ne’er ’t will again put forth fresh branches and verdure!”<sup>91</sup>

Oaths by the royal scepter, or by the bishop’s crozier, were most binding. The Homeric allusion implies a belief that the blossoming of the staff would indicate perjury.<sup>92</sup>

\* \* \*

The results of the foregoing investigation may be summed up as follows:

1. The miracle of the blossoming rod planted and grown to a tree, as current in the Latin hagiography, entered the literary tradition by way of Egypt.

2. In its origin it recalls the method of growing certain trees from slips, as well as the symbolism of the vegetation-deity literalized as if founded on fact.

3. The presence of the miracle in modern folk-lore is due to hagiographic influence, as shown by the literary genealogy of the legend of the “tree of forgiveness.”

<sup>88</sup> Nau and Clugnet, “Vies et récits d’Anachorets,” (IV-VIIe siècles) in *Revue de l’Orient chrétien*, 1903, p. 93, cited by R. Basset in *Revue des traditions populaires*, XIX, p. 336.

<sup>89</sup> First printed in 1515.

<sup>90</sup> J. Kuoni, *Sagen des Kantons St. Gallen*, p. 131, (a traditional text):

“Der Papst nahm das Stäbli in seine Hand,  
Vor Dürre war es gespalten,  
‘So wenig das Stäbli mehr Läubli trägt,  
So wenig kannst Gnade erhalten.’”

<sup>91</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 234-5.

<sup>92</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, V, 179: “Ita ut iuramenta super haec [croziers] longe magis quam super evangelia praestare vereantur et peierare.”

## BERNARD SHAW'S PROPHECY.

BY THE EDITOR.

GEORGE Bernard Shaw recently expressed his view of the present situation in the *Chicago Examiner*, and he comes to a remarkable conclusion which, though it sounds almost incredible, contains a great deal of truth. He predicts a combination between the English and the Germans because of similarities in their character and in the tendencies of their politics. Mr. Shaw says:

"The war suggests strongly that a combination between the Germans and the English is inevitable, because they abuse one another in exactly the same terms, and hate one another in the same way.

"They understand the French, Poles, the Italians, the Hungarians, and the Irish very imperfectly; but they understand one another like brothers; and they are regarded by the other nations as the chief dangers to the liberty and peace of the world.

"They have largely peopled the United States of America. In spite of their misunderstandings of the French, Irish and Poles, they are accustomed to them and have an admiration for them which is sometimes affectionate and often ridiculous."

Mr. Shaw thinks that the Germans and the English can live together and work together comfortably; "for they share the same religion and irreligion, the same feudalism and liberalism and democracy. They wear the same sort of clothes, eat the same sort of food, and intermarry without the least sense of miscegenation.

"Thus, from Warsaw to San Francisco you have a clear unit of civilization; and if Germany, as is probable, has after the war to choose between alliances in the East and in the West, and, choosing the West, consolidates friendly relations with the United States, neither England nor France can prudently stand out of the combination, their accession to which would integrate the Netherlands and Scandinavia almost automatically."

The truth of Mr. Shaw's statement lies in the fact that both peoples are of the same stock; in fact they separated within historical times and have lost connection only through the strangely different development of their own languages, also within very recent times. Although the Saxon language of the Anglo-Saxons broke down under the Norman conquest, English is the most recent lan-



guage that developed from the Saxon. Saxon schools and education in general were neglected in Britain under the influence of the Norman-French army of William the Conqueror, while in Germany the old Low German language, spoken all over northern Germany, yielded at the time of the Reformation to High German, the language of Luther's Bible translation, which thus became the language spoken all over Germany.

Thus two changes, one in England and one in Germany, gave a different appearance to a language which prior to 1066 was still practically the same in Britain and on the continent, being a Low German dialect akin to the Dutch language of the Netherlands. There are no other two nations in the world which are so closely kin to each other as the North Germans and the English, and it is really because they are so similar that they are at present at war. They are both natural leaders and have come into conflict because two cannot be leader at the same time. Whether Mr. Shaw is right in prognosticating a combination is another question, and we quote him here because his remarks are worthy of note.

The question, as he also says, has a religious background, for England and northern Germany are typically Protestant, while the nations whom they have subjected (I refer here mainly to the Irish and Poles) are predominantly Catholic, and it would be easy to find parallels between Bismarck's Polish policy and the English policy toward Ireland. Though the former is not as severe as the latter they show points of contact, and we will say that while England has absolutely exterminated and replaced the Irish language the Germans have not succeeded in extinguishing Polish, which is still a great power and seems to look forward at present to a revival under a German protectorate.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### WERE THE EARLY CHRISTIANS PACIFISTS?

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

During the present European war Christianity has often been spoken of as having broken down, or as not having been lived up to, else the war would have been prevented. This view, as it seems to me, is based upon an ignorance of the political beliefs, for there were such, of early Christianity. It is true that Christianity entered the world with very lofty moral teachings, the highest, we might say. It taught the purest morality, summed up in the words, Love thy neighbor as thyself; it taught non-resistance, non-revenge, even the love of one's enemies; it made no distinction of race or social position: "There is

neither Jew nor Greek," Gal. iii. 28; to which Col. iii. 11, adds, "neither barbarian nor Scythian," "neither bond nor free." But in spite of all this, Christianity did not believe that a perfect state of mankind, termed the "kingdom of God," would come about without force and power. Even in its own narrow circle of a religious brotherhood it could not do without force, without a rigid discipline, this discipline in the first stages of Christianity consisting perhaps less in the exclusion of members for dogmatic reasons than on moral grounds, for in the matter of dogma there were many divergent opinions till a hard and fast dogma had developed. But in regard to a perfect state of mankind, "the kingdom of God," they were firmly convinced that it would not come about without a forceful overthrowing of all evil, injustice and unrighteousness, and the perpetrators thereof. They were so firmly convinced of an all pervading wickedness, and an influence of spiritual powers of evil, and the subjection of mankind to them, that the complete destruction of all this they believed could only come about by the overwhelming power of God. Only the few would be saved who submitted voluntarily to God's call to penitence and offer of salvation; the majority would be destroyed by the power of God because of not submitting to him. The coming of the kingdom of God with power to destroy the wicked, the destruction of the empires of this world under the influence of the Evil Spirit, the day of judgment, and the supersession of a new and perfect world-order, these things were to the first Christians nothing shadowy, but a vivid reality handed over to them by the Jews,—the Persian doctrine of the final victory of the Spirit of light and goodness over that of darkness and evil, the Stoic doctrine of a final world conflagration. The views of the early Christians concerning these things may have been crude and not in accord with modern knowledge, but they expressed this truth, that a more perfect state of mankind cannot be brought about except by a forceful struggle in which a higher, mightier principle is victorious over a weaker opposing one, that the two are mutually incompatible and that there is no compromise between them.

Early Christianity cannot in the least be absolved from the belief in force and might overthrowing its adversary. It did not claim to meddle in the political questions of the day; it was not politically revolutionary; it accepted slavery and all social inequalities; it taught obedience to the authorities of the state; but we must not think that it was entirely indifferent to world politics. From the Jews Christianity took over the view that the Roman Empire, like all preceding empires, was under the influence of the Evil Spirit and not based on the spirit of God, and therefore doomed to destruction as the last empire. Of course God's governing hand over world empires was not denied entirely, else Paul could not have said: "There is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God"; but in the main the empires of the world were considered as being under the influence of the Evil Spirit and based on injustice and wrong. The view that the Roman Empire was doomed to destruction in the near future stands out clearly in the New Testament in spite of all veiled language, as plainer language would have stamped the early Christians as political revolutionaries and a dangerous element in the Roman state. The idea seems to have been held by the early Christians that the Roman empire was to become weakened by internal dissensions and revolutions, and that out of this anarchy the consummation of evil, the Antichrist, was to come, who in turn would be utterly destroyed by

God (compare such passages as Luke xxi. 9-10, and Revelation xvii. 16, and the phrase "that which restraineth," i. e., the Antichrist, 2 Thess. ii. 6, explained by commentators most reasonably as referring to the yet intact state of the Roman government).

The early Christians in fact were more absorbed in world politics than is generally assumed. But, feeling their inability to bring about a change in the unjust and evil conditions themselves, they fell back on the belief in a change brought about by God. They preached non-resistance and non-revenge, as they saw very clearly that if everybody would right himself this would mean every one turning against every one else; still they held to the firm belief that every wrong would find its retribution, that individuals, whole peoples, states and empires would have their day of judgment.

There is no doubt about it, the earliest Christians believed that a perfect state of mankind could not be brought about but by a principle, a principle possessed of the necessary might to bring it about. Thus they were no pacifists. Modern man of course does not believe such a change will come about through a miraculous supernatural force, as the early Christians believed. Nevertheless there was a truth underlying these early views. Steps toward a more perfect state of mankind have always been brought about by a will that had the necessary force behind it to bring them about. History is a continued series of struggles in which the forces opposing a more perfect state are overthrown by a higher will backed by the necessary power to execute it. It is a series of judgment days and catastrophes dealing out retribution, in which everything seems to go to ruin, but only to awaken new life and progress out of the chaos. The only difference between the ancient Christian view and the modern regarding the attainment of a more perfect state in mankind is this, that the former looked upon this process as coming about from without this world by a higher force and power in a supernatural way, while the latter conceives this process as coming about within the world through the victory of a higher force proceeding in a historical way through the instrumentality of man himself and by gradual steps.

Applied to the present world conflagration, the future will show which of the contending forces is the higher and stronger, and what new life and progress will arise from the general ruin.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

HOLLAND'S INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. By *T. de Vries, J. D.* Chicago: C. Grentzbech, 1916. Pages, 398.

Given two countries, both famous in history, and place them side by side or at least easily accessible one to the other for a thousand years of time, and the result is sure to be interesting and fascinating. The mutual reaction and various intercourse between such countries prove the essential unity of the human race, for they show that all history is connected, that all language is a development, and that all literature is a growth from previous conditions. Especially is this true of such related countries as England and Holland, both of Teutonic stock and both having a civilization much alike, the one country however in its general development antedating the other by several centuries and so having a decided influence on its successor's language and literature. It has been the province of Dr. T. de Vries, a graduate from the Free Uni-

versity of Amsterdam but now a resident of this country, to trace the influence of the Netherlands on England's language and literature and show the great debt England owes to Holland in this respect.

The book under discussion is a notable one and brings together in the short compass of 400 pages what before this was hardly known at all or scattered in numerous books and monographs. The author takes a broad view of his subject, and covers the development of comparative philology, in which Holland had also an important share, as well as its proper influence on the evolution of English literature and language. In the first part of the book he emphasizes the essential nature of the English language as being a composite mixture, on account of which a study of comparative philology is necessary as an introduction. English and Dutch belong to the Germanic group of languages and have a common development from immemorial times down to a late period. Their relationship is clearly disclosed by the study of Gothic, Old Dutch and Anglo-Saxon, all of which were first brought into systematic connection by Franciscus Junius, a Dutch scholar of distinction, who published the famous silver codex of the Bible in Gothic in 1665, besides many Anglo-Saxon, Frisic and Old Dutch manuscripts. From this beginning grew the school of comparative philology, the first exponents of which were Dutchmen like Lambert Ten Kate and Balthazar Huydecoper and Englishmen like George Hickes and Edward Lye, all of whom studied and published Old Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian and other old Germanic texts. The importance of the Netherlands as a center of learning was further enhanced by the publication of many medieval legends and songs, quite a number of which had their origin in the Low Countries.

Dutch and English are, accordingly, as "two sisters of a large family." Many words are the same or nearly the same, and the main differences are in pronunciation, arrangement of words and the use of prepositions and conjunctions. Since the Norman conquest, however, the original relationship between Dutch and English has gradually been obscured by the predominant influence in England of French, which brought in its train both Greek and Latin. Nevertheless, in its structure and foundation English is Germanic and exhibits a closer relation to Dutch than to any other living language.

While the relationship of Dutch and English is thus an established fact, the influence of Holland on English literature does not seem so patent and evident. Yet there is scarcely a great name in English literature but derives some of its luster from the Dutch. In spite of the fact that English literature is richer in volume and in quality than Dutch literature, the latter has a disproportionate influence on the former. This is undoubtedly due to the earlier development of Dutch civilization and letters, which was reflected in the subsequent unfolding of the great body of English literature. The fact that printing was a fine art in the Netherlands long before it was practiced in England also had a decisive influence on the growth of English language and literature. The poems of Cædmon, for instance, were first published at Amsterdam by the same Junius who published the Gothic Bible. The stories of King Arthur and his round table, of Charlemagne and other French romances were in part composed in the southern Netherlands, or found many a setting there. In later days, when the industry and opulence of Flanders excited the admiration and envy of western Europe, there was a rich development of literary life, as exemplified in the Chambers of Rhetoric, which in view of the close

trade and political relations with England had a far-reaching effect also on its literature.

Thus we find William Caxton, the first English printer, receiving his training in the Netherlands and spending most of his life there, going back to England at the age of fifty-five with a Dutch printing press. As Caxton printed more than a hundred works, his influence on early English literature may readily be surmised. Thomas à Kempis and Erasmus, both Dutchmen, further had a tremendous influence on the English people and English literature, as the numerous reprints of their books amply attest. From their time on, a broad and generous stream of Dutch life found expression or outlet in English literature, from the first complete English Bible printed by Miles Coverdale at Antwerp between 1527 and 1535, to the time of the war for independence from Spain, when poets like Gascoigne, Churchyard and Sir Philip Sidney fought and composed in behalf of Holland. Space is lacking to mention the influence of Holland on Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Defoe and many others, all of which is fully described in a most interesting way in this book, a gem of its kind. It opens up a new field of study, and justifies warm commendation.<sup>1</sup>

ALBERT OOSTERHEERDT.

THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF GERHART HAUPTMANN. Edited by *Ludwig Lewisohn*. Vols. I and II: Social Dramas; Vol. III: Domestic Dramas; Vols. IV and V: Symbolic and Legendary Dramas; Vol. VI: Later Dramas in Prose. New York: B. W. Huebsch. Each volume \$1.50 net.

The dramatic works of Gerhart Hauptmann in their English garb are appearing now in collected form under the able editorship of Prof. Ludwig Lewisohn of the Ohio State University. Six volumes already lie before us, and a seventh will be issued in the spring; and as we have to do here with a living author, this collection will by no means come to a close with the seventh volume. The edition has the authorization of the author, who has also approved the editor's view of his thought and art as expressed in the introduction.

This labor of love on the part of the editor and translator—for the greater number of the translations has been made by the editor himself—deserves nothing but words of the sincerest praise. What William Archer has done for Henrik Ibsen, Ludwig Lewisohn is doing for Gerhart Hauptmann, and like Archer Lewisohn has made all English-speaking peoples his debtors. Unstinted praise is due also to the publisher, Mr. B. W. Huebsch, for the high courage which prompted this great and noble undertaking.

This collected edition of the dramatic works of Gerhart Hauptmann is one of the most important contributions to modern stage literature in the English tongue, and the English-speaking student of contemporary drama is given here a comprehensive survey of the works of the most representative dramatist of the present day, the undisputed master of the stage in a country where the theater, owing to its repertoire system, has had a greater development than in any other country in the world.

Great events have come to pass since these dramas first came from the pen of Gerhart Hauptmann; the epoch that called them into being has meanwhile come to an abrupt end. But there is certainly in the works of this author that quality which endures when the times which they mirror forth are long past. It is true that some of Hauptmann's plays do not unfold their full beauty to us until we see them on the boards. But it is just as true that a great number of them will endure longer as written drama. Among these one would

naturally class his poetical dramas, which, we must, however, admit, are, relatively speaking, poor drama, but good poetry. His "Henry of Auë," for instance, has been pronounced by many critics, to be the most poetical play of its time.

His greatest and most lasting contribution to stage literature, however, lies in his naturalistic plays, principally "The Weavers," "Drayman Henschel" and "Rose Bernd." True it is that he often became disloyal to naturalism, but equally true that he always came back to this most vital form of dramatic art. Again and again he succumbed to the mystic bent he inherited from his Silesian ancestors, but he always returned from the world of vision to the world of facts, from the domain of the invisible to the concrete realities of experience.

Space will not permit us to enter into a discussion of the elements which go to make up the naturalistic drama of Hauptmann. To use Professor Lewisohn's own words: "By employing the real speech of man, by emphasizing being rather than action, by creating the very atmosphere and gesture of life, he succeeds in presenting characters whose vital truth achieves the intellectual beauty and moral energy of great art."

What a pity that we do not see the plays of Hauptmann in our theaters! The reason for this deplorable state of affairs is, as a writer in a recent number of the *Yale Review* says, that "we, as play-goers, will support no play in which Truth has the leading role." What a strong indictment of the patrons of the American theater! We will not patronize the plays of a Hauptmann, a Schnitzler, or a Galsworthy. "Instead," Mr. Dodd goes on to say in the *Yale Review*, "we patronize plays wherein the scenery is always far honester than the psychology."

To this lack of appreciation of the drama of Truth is now added a deep antipathy to everything German. Many people—and not the uneducated only—have permitted unreason and prejudice to blind them to the great achievements of the German people in all fields of human thought and activity. In all these great achievements of the German people the drama occupies perhaps the first place, and of all the men and women who have made the German stage what it now is—the foremost stage of the world—Gerhart Hauptmann heads the list. May his dramas in this excellent collected edition in the English language find a way to all English-speaking peoples, and may they contribute their share to healing the breaches between nations now engaged in a fratricidal war and which, when united, are destined to be the intellectual leaders of mankind.

MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

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Prof. Ernst Feise of the German Department of the University of Wisconsin has published a school edition of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*. The book, which possesses the advantage of copious biographical and literary notes of value not only to the student but to the general reader, is one of the Oxford German Series which is being prepared by American scholars under the supervision of Prof. Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois and published by the Oxford University Press.

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NOTE.—This edition of Noiré's valuable treatise on language is a reprint of the edition published by Longmans, Green & Co. in London in 1879 to which are added two additional chapters published in Chicago in 1889 by The Open Court Publishing Company.

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